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# commonweal

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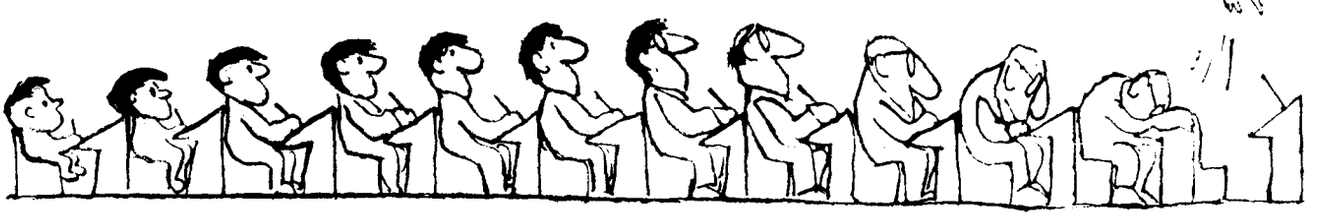
## FALL EDUCATION ISSUE

## TEST TUBE BACKLASH
*Gale Edward Christianson*

## NO PLACE FOR BLUE-COLLARS
*David M. Gray*

## SAVE THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS?
*Murray Polner*

## SCHOOLS, SI; EDUCATION, NO!
*Jordan Bishop*



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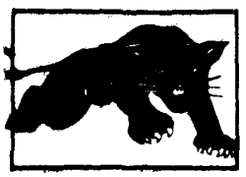
**THE PANTHERS GO TO TEMPLE • CUSHING'S LAST HURRAH • WHY MARCUSE MATTERS • TRUFFAUT AS THE TEACHER**



***Reviews of:*** **KATE MILLET'S SEXUAL POLITICS • A COUNTER EDUCATION • A THEOLOGY OF PROTEST • BONHOEFFER'S LIFE**

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# NEWS & VIEWS

### Private Prep Schools

Chicago having the largest parochial school system in the country, you'd expect it to have the largest problems. It does. There's a record drop in enrollment (30,000 this year on top of 23,000 last) and a record increase in costs (up $8 million to a total of $68 million). Officials are projecting a $3 million deficit for 1970-71.

But it isn't just Catholic education, as typified by Chicago, which is hurting. It's also the select private preparatory school, according to the *Wall Street Journal*.

A *Journal* survey shows vacancies at schools formerly able to pick and choose from among droves of applicants. As many as nine or 10 New England boarding schools did not reopen this fall because of enrollment losses, and many more are said to be barely hanging on.

The reasons for the decline of the name prep school — places like Kent, Choate, Hotchkiss, etc. — are partly economic. The business slump has not made it easier to get up the $3,000 to $4,000 average tuitions.

They're partially too the sobering discovery that a diploma from Groton or Phillips Exeter no longer means near-automatic entry into an Ivy League college.

But more particularly the reasons appear related to new modes and interests.

The *Wall Street Journal* quotes the headmaster of Vermont Academy as saying, today's student is "weighing the confinement of boarding school against staying home with girls, booze, pot and cars."

The appraisal is overly cynical and is not subscribed to by everyone. Most seem to realize that the detached locations of most prep schools, and the artificial character of the student bodies of all, have combined to make these schools islands of social unreality in 1970 America.

As one educator put it, "There's a new focus on activities in the cities. That's where the action is now."

Whatever the fullness of that logic, old PS 76 is more in than out these days. And dear old ivied alma mater may be on its last legs.

### Gulf's Good Gulp

When Bolivia expropriated Gulf Oil holdings last fall, it was page-one news.

When Bolivia announced last month that it was indemnifying Gulf, you had to go to page 65 in the *New York Times* financial section to find the story.

Gulf, which had been screeching for application of the Hickenlooper Amendment (which requires the suspension of U.S. aid to any country that nationalizes American assets without just compensation) had valued its Bolivian investment at $118 million.

According to the Associated Press, Bolivia will pay Gulf more than $100 million. The AP said President Alfredo Ovando placed Gulf's "unrecovered" investment at $101.9 million, while allowing at the same time that the figure did not include more than $11 million owed Gulf for taxes paid in advance.

Later, Reuters reported that the payment would be $78,622,171 (you had to go to the *Times'* financial section to find this story also).

Whichever is the more accurate, AP or Reuters, Gulf, it seems, is going to be all right.

Bolivia, which receives about $15 million a year in U.S. aid, remains, in the meanwhile, the poorest country in continental Latin America.

### Frawley's Butler

An article in *The Progressive* on Patrick J. Frawley, "the right wing's big spender," cites Edward Scannell Butler as being "Frawley's current political protege."

Butler came to attention as the producer of the 1966 TV special "Hitler in Havana." His fame now is in bird-dogging radical and liberal campus groups.

*The Progressive* piece reports that Butler left New Orleans in '66 "for a Beverly Hills bachelor pad close to his patron Frawley." There he edits a magazine called *Square*, heavy with Frawley-empire ads (Schick, Eversharp, etc.), and hosts a Frawley-backed syndicated TV show, "The Square World of Ed Butler."

In his book, *Revolution Is My Profession*, Butler outlines his strategy for frustrating radical and liberal campus movements. His secret weapon: "professional conflict managers."

The "conflict managers," says Butler, "will infiltrate trouble-making groups, try to divert them from their goals, break up their structure, create internal dissensions."

It's an objective that appeals to Frawley. Butler, thus, is among the principal recipients of Frawley's largesse.

### Odds and Ends

— Diocesan newspaper editors concerned about their prerogatives as editors appear to have lost a crucial ally. James A. Doyle, executive director of the Catholic Press Association, has called for the acceptance of editorial and/or publication advisory boards as a "very desirable means of measuring and responding to the broad concerns of the diocese." . . . Bye-bye freedom; hello more censorship.

— Auxiliary Bishop Edward J. Hermann of Washington says it really isn't true that the archdiocese played politics in Maryland's Democratic primary. It only authorized pastors to make available parish mailing lists to members of groups favoring state aid to parochial schools.

— Norman Miller writes in the *Wall Street Journal* of the "church's loss of influence" in Washington "In political terms," he says, "it seems clear that the bishops' position alone no longer makes much difference." The new determinant: "the response of rank-and-file Catholics." Fair enough.

JOHN DEEDY

Picha, The Special, Belgium



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# CORRESPONDENCE

## To Be A Berrigan

Chester, Vermont

*To the Editors:* Objecting reactions to the Berrigans doing their thing, in *Commonweal* and elsewhere, have been various, timid, fearful, angry, snide, pompous, and downright false in their accusations. Neither Berrigan ever burned down anybody's house or expressed willingness to do so. If they "terrorized government employees" (Letter, September 4), the employees probably enjoyed it like a folk lore spinster who looked under her bed every night to see if a man was there. Reportedly, the Berrigans and friends sent flowers to the clerk after taking her keys. There was never violence to persons.

Many attacks on the Berrigans are, I suspect, reflections of our own frustration and guilt. We should not be guilty for our inability. To be a Berrigan takes more than courage and perception. It requires talent, calling and grace. As we struggle to act, limited by our own capacities, let us give praise and thanks that Berrigans are and that we can be their siblings.

Marjorie Murphy

Portsmouth, N.H.

*To the Editors:* The objections of Walker Percy and the reluctance of Rosemary Reuther on the subject of the Fathers Berrigan, as voiced in the September 4 issue of *your magazine, are based upon thinking that* has failed to persevere to the ultimate end of the question. The decision to abandon the contemplative life for one of action is made only under stress of a most extreme nature. An individual of sensitive conscience and moral fiber is forced to choose between the two modes of life. To denounce the active resistance (the cited element of "violence" herein being aimed at objects and institutions, not individuals) to the draft system as the "violating of federal law" is to choose the dictates of one particular Congress over the higher calling of a morality whose priorities are in Life rather than Death and war, in the survival of individual liberty rather than submission to a repressive system.

I am sure that the brothers realize the dangers inherent in the arising of a per-

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## THE WORK OF DEPOLARIZATION

One can appreciate the nervousness of spokesmen for minority groups with the Labor Day statement of the U.S. Catholic Conference. The white ethnic working class is so socially insipient and, in the context of the nation's political situation, so exploitable, that to express solicitousness for this group — as the Labor Day statement did — is to invite misunderstanding.

Misunderstanding is precisely what has resulted from the Conference's call to develop "community structures" among white ethnic working families to enable them to join with non-white minorities in efforts to solve common social and political problems. The Jesuit vice-chairman of PADRES, an association of Mexican-American priests, has warned that "too great emphasis on the problems of the white working class will certainly obscure the desperate needs of the black and brown minorities." The National Committee of Black Churchmen is more emphatic. It sees the Conference's "outreach to ethnic America" lending itself to the manipulation of those "who are attempting to organize and strengthen conservative forces in this country." More particularly, it senses betrayal. "Have you raised our hopes and expectations of assistance from you, only to dash them to pieces when the pressures and flak intensify upon you?" the Committee of Black Churchmen asks.

The question is a legitimate one, but its validity must be predicated on evidence stronger than a show of concern for the white ethnic working class. For the simple fact is that unless there is an "outreach" to all groups in the community, including this one, one is going to find one group problem being solved at the expense of other equally serious problems. The U.S. Catholic Conference cannot default on its 1968 determination to "support the black community in its efforts to achieve organizational, political and economic power." On the other hand, it cannot be oblivious to problems within the white ethnic working class without risking the undercutting of whatever gains might be hoped for in tackling the problems facing blacks. Attorney General Mitchell's comment that "this country is going so far to the right you are not even going to recognize it" is no idle cocktail-circuit remark. The country is



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pointed in that direction now, and it will move faster and further to the right if the white ethnic working class is not depolarized. Blacks should be the first to recognize that rightward drifts benefit them as a group about last.

The drafters of the Labor Day statement appreciate that fact. They are also aware that the vacuum of concern over the white ethnic working class — on the part of government, foundations, universities and churches — is ready-made for "demogogues of hate." As one Catholic Conference official put it in defending the Labor Day statement, "What I fear are 10,000 Imperiales" (Anthony Imperiale is Newark's militant white leader). This is no idle worry.

The Labor Day statement is addressed primarily to the church, since many ethnic groups "still tend to cluster" thereabout. But the challenge is to other institutions as well. It is an urgent challenge, one which can be undertaken without necessarily neglecting the black community's claims on justice—and, providing those becoming involved keep other problems in perspective, without apology, even to blacks. The most militant of black leaders, remember, have long been counselling white leaders "to go to work on your own." To become seriously concerned about the white ethnic working class is, therefore, only to take seriously the advice of blacks themselves.

There is no luxury of time in undertaking this mission. The longer the white ethnic working class is stereotyped and written off by sociologists, the harder will become the polarization of this group from others in the country. The polarization may serve the fortunes of political opportunists, but absolutely nothing else. It can only leave the country as a whole the worse off.

## UN WITH TEETH

Hope springs eternal, thank goodness, and by all reports the recent opening of the 25th anniversary session of the UN General Assembly was no exception. There has been among the general public a sharp decline in the great expectations that once attached to the idea behind the United Nations, but the new session began with expressions of confidence that the international organization would recapture some of its youthful enthusiasm and world prestige. A more realistic note, however, was struck by the outgoing Assembly president, Miss Angie E. Brooks of Liberia; referring to the UN's "internal weaknesses" and its "parochialism and lack of sense of reality," she told the delegates: "Our duty is to dispel those unnecessary doubts which have arisen about the effectiveness of our organization."

But the basic problem about refurbishing the UN image is, of course, that many of the criticisms made of the world organization are well founded. There are many good things one can say about the United Nations, and they should not be forgotten. But the organization does suffer from internal weaknesses, and it does often demonstrate the lack of a sense of reality, as the Assembly president suggested. Along these lines, a White House commission headed by Henry Cabot Lodge recently submitted an interim report which stressed some of the deep-seated ills of the UN. Needed, said the report, were stronger peacekeeping machinery and better conciliation procedures. Two major shortcomings in the United Nations were cited by Mr. Lodge, himself a former United States representative at the UN: "First the failure of its members to make it the paramount means for maintaining international peace and security as was intended in the Charter, and second, its misuse as both an unwieldly and ineffective debating society and a propaganda platform."

It is hard to quarrel with the commission's conclusions, but there is more that should be said on the subject. The fact is that the United Nations is at its most ineffective precisely on those issues involving the superpowers, and the United States must bear its share of the blame for this state of affairs — even if one leaves aside incidents such as when Adlai Stevenson in all innocence solemnly assured the UN that this country had nothing to do with the Bay of Pigs invasion. As long as the United States and the other great powers continue to deny the UN any real authority on matters in which they have a strong interest, the world organization will to that degree remain ineffective, and the fact that the U.S is as guilty as others on this score should be a matter of concern to all thoughtful Americans. Today more than ever it is obvious that the only sane direction in international affairs is that toward a rule of law which is worldwide in scope and to which individual nations will have to submit for crucial decisions. If this goal is to be attained, the world organization that now exists must be made stronger, and the only way this can be done is by a willingness on the part of every nation to yield a certain amount of national sovereignty. If the United States is really serious about wanting to honor the United Nations on its 25th birthday, serious steps in this direction would be the best way.

**$8,740 TO GO!**

By mid-September, some 4,200 subscribers had contributed or pledged $37,260 of the $46,000 estimated as needed to assure *Commonweal's* continued publication. That leaves $8,740 to go. We urge subscribers, and other readers who have not yet taken part, to send in their contributions soon so that this fall the drive can be brought to a successful conclusion, address:

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Embracer of Patriarchs, Rider of Roller Coasters, Scandal to the Sheep

# ANOTHER LAST HURRAH

There was something inappropriate about being in Ann Arbor, Michigan, when the Cardinal's retirement was announced. For a Bostonian—even one who tries not to be provincial—*the* Cardinal is Richard James Cushing. The setting was inappropriate because my colleagues here at the University don't understand the feelings which one's relationship with this extraordinary man produce. Because I think that relationship says a lot about the status of many Catholics at once deeply troubled and yet still hopeful that the church can preach the gospel in America, I want to write about him and what his personality and career say to Catholics of my generation.

Many critics will tally up his accomplishments and faults, and probably locate them on a "conservative-liberal" scale. I would rather look at him as a person whose influence means a lot to me.

I suppose I've met him ten or a dozen times in my 31 years from Confirmation, when he stayed around for photographs, to last June when he preached at a Golden Jubilee Mass I took part in. The first time he was robust, healthy and a bit of a ham; on the last occasion he was tired and sick and barely able to preach about the accomplishments of an old friend.

Some of the other meetings were pleasant—such as the time he told me not to worry about the difficulty I was having in the Seminary, he had had much worse, and survived. Others were testy and argumentative, as when he refused me permission to take a community organization job, and said the trouble with inner-city priests was that they were more interested in making headlines than converts. (Before I was back at the rectory, he had called the pastor and said I was overworked and ought to take a vacation.) "My door is always open," he told us when we were ordained, neglecting to add it might be helpful to assay the day's mood before knocking.

Thinking back now over our several encounters and other issues I've been involved in that focused on the Cardinal, I can't really get excited about the specific responses. I do know that the ambivalence many attribute to the Cardinal ought to be looked at from another angle and understood in the perspective of his personality and view of the church.

To many, Cushing is America's John XXIII — the embracer of Patriarchs, visitor to synagogues, preacher in Protestant pulpits, and rider of roller coasters. Tradesmen, sailors and South American natives are delighted when he dons their hats, and many of the wealthy respond eagerly when he passes his hat, especially if a camera is near or a construction contract in the offing. In the past, when he has ascended a pulpit or an Inauguration dais and seemed to forget he ought to come down sometime, he would embarrass those who need the church to be chic, and modern and sophisticated. But his unconventional ways and personal anecdotes have touched the hearts of many who had feared and suspected the Roman church. (Once he concluded a high-level ecumenical colloquium at Harvard with a fairly clinical account of his indigestion — an incarnational experience that probably did the intellectuals some good.)

What both praisers and dunners often fail to see behind the Cardinal's public image is a lonely, isolated man who as the years wore on had to shield himself from the opportunists of left and right who played on his compassion and generosity. It's tragic that the church is so structured that many of its leaders have to choose this course; but it seems to be the price of centralized power and responsibility, near-life tenure, and fiscal and administrative burdens that barely relate to the New Testament notion of priest.

This is the troubling part, but I believe there is a hopeful sign in the way the Cardinal has responded to many over the last few years. He has often said: "Don't ask me. Do what you want. I won't get in the way, even though I think you are wrong!" This has positioned the Cardinal on both sides of controverted issues, and puzzled and angered many people.

But where is the fault? We talk so much about freedom and responsibility these days, and are so unwilling to risk it. I wonder how responsible we have been many of the times we have tried to line up the Cardinal on our side. Granted that there have been some real failures to respond on some issues, on many occasions we haven't been willing to hear him say: "You're the church, too. If you think you're right, take the chance, as I have: but be willing to risk the infamy, as I have."

The record will show that there has been far less suppression of priests and others in Boston than in other dioceses. Many are suffering, and many have been hurt; but with few exceptions, these have been incidents more of personality conflict, poor advice and ill health than outright injustice.

If Cushing is not the liberal on his home ground that his international reputation would have him be, one must remember that early in his career he had to confront a major theological controversy, and that even today Boston is a very conservative city. Resistance to conciliar reform (frequent Communion even!) on the part of most priests and laity, and the political popularity of people like Louise Day Hicks and the Boston School Committee are indicators. Cushing has had to rely on his own Irish political sense to lay the groundwork for diocesan growth and change, and if he erred, it was certainly on the side of good intention. On the other hand, by refusing to nominate a successor, he made a valuable contribution to the increas-



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ingly vocal progressive Catholic minority, as the unique and exciting choice of successor seems to indicate.

With the Cardinal's retirement an era that has profoundly influenced us comes to a close. For all the mixed feelings it conjures, we ought to be grateful for him and the opportunities he has given us to grow. May his retirement years leave him enough good health to relax and reminisce as publicly or privately as he wants, and enjoy some of the peace and companionship his office forced him to sacrifice.

*Shalom*, your Eminence. *Thomas D. Corrigan*

*(Father Thomas D. Corrigan is a priest of the Boston Archdiocese, now studying in the Graduate School of Social Work at the University of Michigan.)*

## The Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention

# THE PANTHERS GO TO TEMPLE

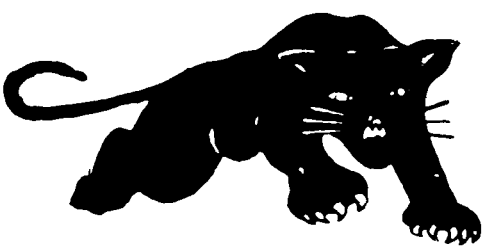
Huey Newton's address to the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia was anticipated with varying degrees of anxiousness. The active concern of the muncipal power structure was expressed in harassment of the convention organizers, the arrest and detention under $100,000 bail of nearly all the Philadelphia Panther leadership, and undisguised pressure on Temple University President Paul Anderson to rescind permission to use school facilities. The National Guard was put on alert by Governor Shafer, and Commissioner Rizzo's helmeted police stood on corners throughout the city. That the Panthers too were concerned could be seen in the elaborate security precautions taken to avoid what many considered to be a highly likely assassination attempt; delegates were carefully frisked for weapons and spectators were ordered not to stand during Newton's speech which he delivered flanked by a circle of Panthers ready to absorb a sniper's bullet if need be.

The audience of close to 8,000 that filled Temple's gymnasium to overflowing and the thousands more closed out in the streets also shared high hopes. To many, both white and black, the appearance of the Panther Minister of Defense after 34 months imprisonment represented a new hope for radical militancy in what had otherwise been a bad year for the left. "Just wait until Huey's out on the street!" had been embraced as a hope and hurled as a threat by those who had demonstrated so long for his release. Now, finally, he was there.

But if his critics anticipated bloodthirsty demagoguery and some of his supporters awaited an immediate call to take to the streets of Philadelphia, they were both bound to be sorely disappointed. In what was more a lecture than heated exhortation, Newton spoke in measured words for broad-based unified action on the left; he clearly aimed to win friends not only among the predominantly black audience, but among white radicals and even liberals as well.

His ideological analysis, for example, contrasted in tone and content with Panther presentations of the past. Departing from a focus upon racial exploitation as a pivot point of American historical development, he chose instead to adopt the familiar liberal theme of democracy gone wrong. He depicted in almost glowing terms the lost days of the 18th century when agrarian democracy effectively functioned among a relatively homogeneous population, and then drew unflattering comparisons with a twentieth century "bureaucratic capitalism" characterized by mammoth economic enterprises and a small self-seeking, power-elite. That most historians, even radical historians, would contest this argument is beside the point; despite his tone Newton was delivering a political speech and not an academic lecture. Whereas white activists may have difficulty identifying with racism as an issue except on the basis of guilt, an opposition to big capitalism can be more comfortably shared by a broad coalition.

The united-front perspective of the Panthers was indicated in other ways as well. In outlining the Panther Ten Point Program, Newton's broad-based appeal became particularly evident. While the program calls for the deferment of Black men from the military and the release of blacks from prisons, Newton now interprets this



to mean an end to the draft and the release of all political prisoners. Even the rhetoric was softened with the pursuit of revolutionary goals by "all effective means" replacing the harsher "by all means necessary." The overall tone of the meetings paralleled the speech; few Panther uniforms were in evidence, fewer red flags, and in general there was little of the revolutionary paraphernalia that tends to decorate such gatherings.

How can this mood be interpreted? Among the several plausible explanations for the reasoned, temperate tenor of not just Newton's speech, but the convention as a whole, is that the Panthers may be assuming for the time a posture of defense and coalescence. And it seems that the events of the last two years justify this course. The Party is not the same one of 34 months ago when Newton was shot and then jailed: Eldridge Cleaver is in exile, Stokely



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Carmichael is in Africa, and over a score of Panthers have been killed by city and federal police. Dozens of them languish in jails from New York to Los Angeles, held under exorbitant bail awaiting charges that range from attempted murder to what one of the "New York 21" called "conspiracy to blow up some tulips in a botanical garden."

Fully aware that public authorities would use any pretext to scuttle the convention, the Panthers worked diligently to prepare both the city and their own party members for an organized and peaceful gathering. They wanted to provide no lever that could be used against them; nonetheless, one developed. On Saturday, August 29, after two park policemen were shot, four suspects were quickly arrested and charged. None of them had been Panther members and with the imminence of a convention already under fire by many Philadelphia groups, no one seriously maintained that it was a Party plot—except Frank Rizzo. "We're dealing with a bunch of yellow dogs and we must be in a position to take them on," he said shortly after a series of predawn raids on three Panther headquarters. After some abbreviated gunfire 15 were arrested, including most of the leadership, on "suspicion of illegal firearms," and were slapped with $100,000 bail each.

This vigilante action against the Panthers was so ham-handed and its pretext so specious that a broad spectrum of Philadelphians from the Urban Coalition to local ministers rose in support of reduced bail for the 15. The blanket arrests combined with intensive arms searches throughout Philadelphia added to the indignation. Moreover, the Philadelphia Panthers had been involved in a number of activities—the breakfast program, a medical center and gang control—that had garnered for them fairly extensive community support. Thus if Philadelphia can serve as an example then the realities of persecution and the effectiveness of broad-based community cohesion justified the politics of a united front.

A second explanation for this decision may be that the white radicals with whom the Panthers relate represent a left significantly weakened from what it had been two years before. Progressive Labor, and the Young Socialist Alliance were not present; the S.D.S. was in shambles and the Weathermen are underground. There were virtually no white radical banners in evidence, not one yippie yell, and even comparatively little radical literature. William Kunstler and the entire conspiracy were present, but when they met outside after Saturday morning's plenary session, it was the mood of reunion rather than revolution. The white convention registrants, in fact, identified themselves by defying identification. While the absence of factionalism that had wreaked havoc at previous radical conclaves might be welcome, like that of the SDS in 1969, those confrontations had at least attested to the vitality and dynamic of the white left.

Yet despite the defensive stance forced on the Panthers and the acknowledged disarray on the left, there is a third explanation that speaks more directly to the mood of the convention. Namely, it indicated the increased self-confidence and growing political maturity of the Panther movement.

Ironically this self-confidence may in part have been generated precisely by the difficult conditions in which the Panthers find themselves. Harassment often enables a group to consolidate its internal structure, while a weak student left may provide the power vacuum into which a disciplined organization can enter. While groups such as the S.D.S. have fallen apart due to internal pressure, the Panthers despite stepped-up persecution have managed to hold together. The very ability to organize and hold a convention with national representation is a feat which virtually no one else can perform.

It may be difficult to qualify as successes Huey Newton's release from prison after 34 months, the lesser conviction of Lonnie McLucas in New Haven, and the weak-kneed albeit damning report of the Chicago committee investigating the murder of Fred Hampton. Nonetheless, the way in which they came about represented a genuine victory. As Charles Garry, lawyer for the Panthers, noted, "It isn't justice that has been seen, but rather the power of the people in action." The ability of the Panthers to marshal support even in Philadelphia whose black community is known for its conservatism suggests their growing appeal.

A final indication of the self-confidence is the way in which the conference was run. Whatever truth there may have been that their last conference in Oakland was run by outsiders was refuted in Philadelphia. The Panthers were clearly in charge; they were ushers, ran work groups, chaired meetings, and functioned as they often depict themselves—a vanguard group determining overall direction for the radical left. Gone was the fear that a Black man must necessarily lose his identity in working with whites—a point Eldridge Cleaver made in letters to Stokely Carmichael contrasting the Panthers with the last days of SNCC.

Greater openness does not mean, however, that the ideology has fundamentally changed. Michael Tabor of the "New York 21" for example, spoke for over two hours in favor of armed self-defense, in opposition to police oppression and for community control. But it means that more whites can feel at home under the Panthers' ideological umbrella. As one young historian from the University of Pennsylvania said after attending a particularly exciting education workshop, "For the first time at a Panther meeting I didn't feel like an irrelevant white intellectual." And, indeed, from the Panther perspective he wasn't. *Robert Rosen* and *Stuart Madden*

*(Robert Rosen teaches in the History Department at the University of Pennsylvania. Stuart Madden edited the University's* Daily Pennsylvanian *and has published articles in* The Village Voice.)



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# IS SCIENCE STOPPABLE?

*PETER STEINFELS*

SEVERAL weeks ago, in the *New York Times*, sociologist Amitai Etzioni commented on the appeals of noted scientists for accelerated national efforts in research on the genetic code. Should such efforts indeed "unlock" the secrets of genetics, the resulting breakthrough, Etzioni pointed out, might alter mankind more than any of the other scientific revolutions we have known, imposing "a new set of capacities, of freedoms, of choices society must make, of evil it can inflict." And he adds: "Let us not again sail blindly into a storm unleashed by scientists anxious to unlock all of nature's secrets with little concern for who and what will be blown over in the resulting tidal waves."

I was reminded of Etzioni's warning when listening to a talk on genetic engineering given by Dr. Leon Kass at a conference in Illinois on "The Future of the Family in the '70s." Kass divided recent and projected developments into three categories, those intended primarily to help people have babies (overcoming infertility through artificial insemination, implantation of fertilized ova, etc.); to help people have healthy babies (genetic screening for couples and the early diagnoses of genetic diseases in embryos); to help people have "optimal babies." That last phrase I think sufficiently conjures up the specters haunting many individuals familiar with the "biological revolution." Kass's point, of course, was that the knowledge acquired in serving the more acceptable goals is, once acquired, at the service of the less acceptable ones. He and other scientists concerned about these problems know full well that society will never be consciously asked if it wants to embark, or how far it wants to embark, on the road of genetic engineering *per se*. Instead, each new development will come up in terms of a specific, praiseworthy, humanitarian objective, which it will be almost impossible, at least at the present level of long-range understanding, to refuse. The recent proposal for a National Genetics Task Force, for example, aims at preventing genetically-based illnesses, and I have heard it argued that medicine based on a fundamental knowledge of the genetic code would make today's medicine look as primitive and foolish as the doctors of Moliere. One wonders, however, whether the backers of such proposals are reading the troubled memoirs of nuclear scientists who, on the 25th anniversary of the explosion of the Bomb, are reflecting on the awesome consequences of their simple desire to advance science and defeat Hitler.

Is there any way our society can avoid being led, step by step, into a situation for which it is entirely unprepared? Etzioni thinks so. He is optimistic about the possibility of channeling genetic engineering into certain fields, such as the prevention of illness, without its being harnessed for other ends, like racial domination. He argues that most scientific findings are not as transferable as people think, and that "their application is affected by moral taboos." For example, "those scientists who sought to prove racist theories are starved for funds and academic recognition." Without sharing his optimism, I certainly approve of his warning that we cannot guide these scientific efforts without a better idea of the moral and social choices they imply, and that a proportion of any funds spent on genetic engineering be devoted to that purpose.

At the conference I was attending, the issue of genetic engineering raised even larger questions about the priorities our nation has in solving problems, and how these priorities are established. In the long run, we must face the issue of the stoppability of science and technology, and I would propose a National Stoppability Task Force to investigate whether science is stoppable at all, under any conditions, and if it is, then exactly how is the miracle accomplished. Has there been a *single* example of scientific research abandoned — when it was producing good results — because of moral reservations about its consequences? The other day, a group of scientists warned against the development of new sonar techniques which, by rendering nuclearized submarines vulnerable, could disrupt the deterrence system and cause another escalation of the arms race. The scientists did not go so far as to oppose research and development of such equipment but only deployment. I read their warning with a certain feeling of despair.

That feeling of despair will hardly be relieved if the Senate approves the appropriation for the SST. "Rarely will so many be bothered . . . to save so little time for so few," writes Henry C. Wallich of the supersonic jet in *Newsweek*. Yet Wallich insists that "we cannot escape" building the plane — for economic reasons. Rarely, one might add, have so many reports and studies indicated so many reasons against doing something to so little avail. Stoppability should begin here.



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# THE TEST-TUBE BACKLASH

## THE GROWING REACTION AGAINST THE SCIENTIST WAS NOT ONLY QUITE RATIONAL, BUT PREDICTABLE AND JUSTIFIED

GALE EDWARD CHRISTIANSON

Last July 24 Dr. Edward Teller, a pioneer in the development of nuclear weaponry, made some grave observations before the President's Commission on Campus Unrest. In testimony which Commission Chairman William Scranton termed "startling," Dr. Teller charged that campus militants pose a direct threat to the security of the United States. This assertion, by itself, lends nothing new to the dialogue on campus unrest. What is new about this noted scientist's testimony is the prediction that the United States will not undergo a revolution from within, but may very well become the victim of a takeover from without. Teller bases his dismal forecast on the grounds that "indoctrinated young people will not take a defense-related job." He went on to state that while "those of us who are older can carry on, it only will be for a very few years."

My purpose in citing Dr. Teller is not to debate the relative merits of his observations regarding campus militants. Rather, it is to use his testimony to focus on a discussion of a rapidly developing problem — the widening rift between the scientific community and the larger society of which it is a part. Few predicted, even as recently as a year or two ago, that the scientist, one of the most highly regarded professionals in modern society, would soon be under attack from several disparate points in the social order. No one forecast the possibility (not yet a reality) that young men and women would refuse, en masse, to participate in defense-related research; and no one considered it possible that a Congress, which in 1965 allocated 12.6 percent of the federal budget for research and development, would cut that figure to about 8.7 percent in 1970. Such drastic action indicates that the young in America are not alone in their disenchantment. Their parents are also deeply concerned.

The causes behind the malaise prevalent among students, particularly as it relates to the development of scientific knowledge and the application of that knowledge to the war in Vietnam, are more easily understood than is the discontent of their parents. The roots of the student problem were evidently present, although deeply submerged, before Vietnam became a hot campus issue.

An easily-forgotten fact is that the students enrolled in higher education today represent a generation which underwent major indoctrination in what may be labeled, for want of a better term, "post-sputnik propaganda." During their formative years these students were led, by educators and scientists alike, to believe that the United States was significantly behind the Soviet Union in scientific and technological development. They were made to feel ashamed that their country could be second to any nation in any undertaking, and they were strongly urged to accept as their patriotic duty winning the "race to the moon." Federal funds poured into elementary and secondary school systems in unprecedented amounts, curriculums were revamped to emphasize mathematics and science, and students were launched on the mission of overtaking and surpassing the Russians.

But this young generation, the first to mature in the era of the thermo-nuclear superpowers, became, despite efforts on the part of many educators to the contrary, a thinking generation. As the years passed, more and more young Americans became increasingly disenchanted with the national priorities established by those in positions of public responsibility. Students not only spoke out against social injustice, they became active participants in the

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Civil Rights movement, openly berating government and adult society for neglecting the poor, the black and the powerless. When Vietnam became a major military conflict, it provided more than sufficient catalytic action to produce violent eruptions on campuses throughout the nation. By the time Neil Armstrong set foot on the moon, student interest in this extraordinary scientific achievement was very subdued.

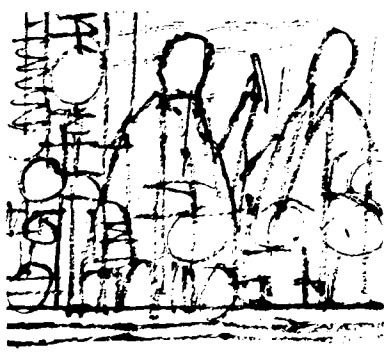
A major reason for the indifferent reaction of students sprang from the fact that the manned moon landing laid permanently to rest the already moribund myth that we were involved with the Soviet Union in a head-to-head space race, the winner of which would claim the universe as its prize. But mostly, students were angered that NASA was given economic *carte blanche* while more crucial human needs remained unadministered to. Furthermore, they resented the fact that they, along with the causes they championed, were made pawns in a game of international chess.

Another basic factor to be taken into account is the political and social consciousness of the younger generation. It is profoundly influenced by the manner in which science is utilized in our society. Beginning with Hiroshima, followed with the development of the hydrogen bomb, Americans deliberately moved toward construction of a society whose economy and way of life depend greatly upon the invention and manufacture of ever more destructive weapons-systems and their attendant military apparatus. Our language burgeons with the nomenclature of destruction — intercontinental ballistic missile, anti-ballistic missile and multiple independently-targeted reentry vehicles — terms which, in reality, are nothing more than euphemisms contrived by scientists for sophisticated weapons of genocidal annihilation.

A factor compounding this student alienation arises out of the materialism resulting from the discoveries of scientists and the application of those discoveries to the technological process. The price of our affluence is high — the destruction of the environment; the continued exploitation of the politically and economically powerless; militarism — and this has produced a crisis of conscience among the young. Rightly or wrongly, they place much of the blame for these circumstances squarely on the scientists whose loyalty, students feel, to corporations and vested interests frequently proves much stronger than their concern for the individual members of society.

The uneasiness of those past student age over the course of scientific development is not so sharply defined or vocally articulated. Nor does it derive from deep moral and philosophical introspection. This is perhaps natural, because the parents of today's students matured during a historical period when science held out the promise of providing the cure for nearly all problems faced by man. Indeed, the very idea of human progress became inconceivable without applying the fruits of scientific investigation to mass production; the manifestation was aptly expressed in the slogan, "Progress is our most important product." Ultimately, the government merged with the industrial and technological sectors to form the military-industrial-complex. Not only did this transformation stimulate mass consumption and strengthen the individual's commitment to the capitalistic system, it set into motion the process which built, with the support and sweat of scientists, the military machine designed for the dual purposes of securing us from our enemies, real and imagined, and guaranteeing that the system would be perpetuated.

In this "best of all possible worlds" the scientist reigned supreme. There was nothing the scientist could not ac-



complish, provided, of course, he was given sufficient time and money. Both were served up in generous quantities. With few exceptions, scientists themselves did not discourage this practice. Many were as nearsighted as the general public about the importance of their role in society.

Today, faith in science and material progress lingers on as the affluent continue to realize higher standards of living with each passing year. Yet, doubts and suspicions are beginning to appear. Just as large numbers of the younger generation turned against the ideals and values of their parents, many of these same parents are questioning, for the first time, their own faith in postwar industrialism. The process is painful, but, in this instance, there is much to recommend it. Obviously, our problems were not all solved in the laboratory, and, in fact, many of them result from the misapplication of science to technology. Some adults are beginning to realize what their children already know: the individual cannot permanently abdicate his conscience and social responsibilities to the test tube.

So we face the major question: Is the public reaction against the scientist rationally justifiable? In defense of the scientific community, it must be said that no intelligent individual can logically defend the position that the many problems we face are the result of actions taken by scientists alone. To place blame only on the scientist for war, pollution and wasteful materialism would be to exculpate politicians, generals, business executives, teachers, office workers or, to put it another way, the public at large. All of us bear some share of the responsibility. But to blame everyone, is to blame no one, and, while the



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question of how much responsibility each individual or group shares is difficult to answer, we should attempt to arrive at some tentative conclusions.

In my mind, the growing reaction against the scientist was not only quite rational, in many ways it was predictable and justified. For example, few thinking individuals could be expected to live indefinitely under the threat of thermonuclear war without experiencing some feeling of revulsion and contempt for the men whose energies and talents helped to produce nuclear weapons. And when poison gas accidentally escapes from a Utah testing facility endangering all animal life for miles around, it prompts one to wonder what motivates men to devote their professional careers to the creation and manufacture of such destructive chemicals. Or when napalm rains down indiscriminately on innocent children in a primitive and distant land, I am curious, as others must be too, to know what is going on in the minds of the men who spent part of their lives in perfecting this terrible weapon. (I also wonder what the President, generals and pilots think as well.)

Many scientists would argue that as a layman I am not making a proper distinction between science and technology. They would maintain, and rightly so, that science involves only the quest for new knowledge while technology is concerned with the practical application of what the scientist discovers. It is true that no scientist ever discovered a bomb, poison gas, napalm or smog in the state of nature. These things resulted from the application of scientific principles to technology. On the other hand, it is foolish to argue that the manufacture of weapons is possible without the pioneering work of the scientist. Besides, the majority of scientists do not devote their lives to the pursuit of pure scientific research. On the contrary, they become deeply involved in the practical application of their knowledge to the solution of specific problems.

The classic example of this involvement is the Manhattan Project initiated in the early 1940's. At Los Alamos, New Mexico, complicated theories on the potential uses of atomic energy were translated into the manufacture of the first atom bomb. Who would argue that the men participating in the project were simply technologists! As a scientist and director of research, Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer bore his responsibility for the eventual success of the undertaking with great dignity and deep concern. Oppenheimer understood the great responsibility to humanity which he and his colleagues shared. Even though he recommended that the bomb be used against the Japanese, a recommendation he later regretted making, Oppenheimer was clearly aware that the bomb, itself, constituted a great evil no matter who possessed it and sanctioned its use. His now famous statement, made after Hiroshima, that the men who developed the bomb "had known sin," is something other members of his profession might consider more seriously in the future.

Scientists frequently take a much greater part in making the decisions which determine how their knowledge will be used than they would like to have the public think. For example, Dr. Edward Teller is a perennial advocate of developing more complex and powerful weapons systems. Last year he offered testimony before a congressional committee on behalf of ABM. Dr. Teller is entitled to his opinion, just as any other citizen, but his actions, and those of a similar nature, hardly represent the professional detachment which many scientists allude to. It is only logical to assume that those who oppose ABM would also oppose those scientists who use their skills to develop weapons systems and who then advocate that their handiwork be deployed for possible use in the future.

Naturally, most of the nation's scientists are not involved in making decisions of the magnitude discussed above. Neither do most soldiers become generals, but we still hold them responsible if they become involved in a tragedy like My Lai. Individual scientists should also be held responsible to the degree to which they are instrumental in jeopardizing human life and property. In effect, this is exactly what an increasing number of concerned citizens are beginning to do. But more importantly, scientists themselves should be totally conscious of their responsibilities both as professionals and as human beings.

### *Not Necessarily Unhealthy*

The current reaction against the scientific community need not necessarily be looked upon as an unhealthy phenomenon. On the contrary, if properly interpreted and responded to, it provides a basis upon which to plan constructively for the future. If, on the other hand, criticism continues to mount without developing the proper responses, the danger will exist that rational complaints might be transformed into irrational actions which could permanently impair vital scientific programs.

No matter how critical we may be of the scientist, no professional is more essential to our future. The world population explosion cannot be checked without his help. Pollution of the environment may kill all higher forms of life unless scientists, with the assistance and encouragement of an aroused public, react with vigor and determination. Heart disease, cancer, diabetes, congenital birth defects and a host of other afflictions will be eradicated or controlled only through continued research by men and women who dedicate their lives to the pursuit of knowledge for the benefit of humanity. Many, such as Dr. Jonas Salk, have followed this enviable course in the past, but their efforts are overshadowed by scientists who have provided national governments the capacity to eradicate all civilization.

Hopefully, we can change for the better the course of human events, and, with this goal in mind, I would



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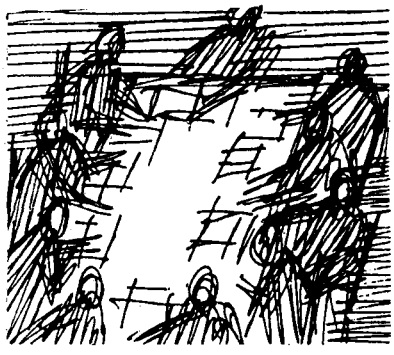
recommend consideration of the following proposals: (1) If we are to meet the increasingly heavy demands which mankind places on this fragile planet, the opportunity and stimulus must be provided for conscientious students to channel their concern into constructive action. Since nearly all scientists are educated in colleges and universities, our methods of teaching necessitate thoughtful reconsideration. In addition to the extremely specialized training received by students enrolled in the



technical disciplines, a dire need exists for broader development of the science student's potentials in the social sciences and humanities. We need to institute strong interdisciplinary programs focusing on the role of the scientist as a functioning member of society. An infinite number of possibilities come to mind: one approach would involve students in studying the lives of great scientists rather than limiting their exposure only to the theories propounded by famous men. Illuminating insight can be gained by examining the lives of Galileo, Newton, Darwin, Einstein, Oppenheimer and others.

Future scientists might be very impressed, or even deeply inspired, to learn that Galileo, for example, is as much admired by some men for his pursuit of truth in the face of great adversity as for his perfection of the telescope and discovery of basic laws of motion. Certainly one of the major weaknesses in the teaching of science today is that the methods, techniques and laws learned by students may as well have come from a computer, fortune cookie or an egg, for all they learn about the men who often sacrificed so much to discover and perfect them.

Another approach would involve university funding of extensive visits to the campus by men involved in scientific work in important fields like weapons research, population control or environmental pollution. Students should be provided with the opportunity to direct their questions personally to those employed by government and industry. Then students can decide, for themselves, if the answers to their questions are satisfactory.

No matter what approaches are employed, the primary concern should be to encourage students to think for themselves in a critical and analytical manner. They need the opportunity to assess the possible consequences of their future actions before they select a specific career objective. I am not advocating a program of political or ideological indoctrination. On the contrary, the lack of specially designed humanities courses in the curriculum of science students is, in itself, a kind of indoctrination because no individual can make choices about which he knows nothing. And students educated in institutions of higher learning in a free society have the right to be appraised of the infinite number of choices open to them. Such choices, and the ethical implications they entail, are not likely to find expression in classes on quantum mechanics or advanced chemical research. They must be studied and discussed in courses devoted to such purposes.

(2) We must expend greater effort on educating students who are not interested in science as a career in the basic principals which underlay the scientific disciplines. Much more has been accomplished in this field than in introducing students majoring in science to the humanities. During the past few years, in an attempt to promote greater understanding and appreciation of the sciences, university faculties have instituted many new undergraduate science courses of a general nature. More can, and needs to be done. First, there should be a greater mingling of science and liberal arts students. At the end of the freshman year, in many instances, and almost always after the sophomore year, all classroom contact between the two groups is lost. In some institutions no classroom contact ever takes place because arts and science students are segregated from the beginning of the freshman year. Under these conditions, how will we ever initiate the permanent interdisciplinary dialogue so necessary to the solution of our many domestic and international problems? Obviously we won't, if we continue to follow archaic methods.

One way to insure that a continuing dialogue takes place would be to have students in the humanities study with science students in specially designed upper division undergraduate courses. In fact, there is no satisfactory reason why graduate students in history, political science, literature or philosophy could not take seminars with their fellow students majoring in physics and chemistry in such areas as the history of science or the influence of science on the social and cultural process.

Secondly, students in both the arts and sciences need encouragement to continue, in the tradition of the educated layman, their pursuit of particular interests in one another's disciplines when their formal academic training is completed. One way to facilitate this would involve introducing students to publications outside of their specialized field.

(3) Scientists, themselves, need to make greater efforts to communicate their discovery of new knowledge to the public. We live at a time when the cumulative efforts of research, particularly in fields such as medicine, are truly astounding, not to mention frightening. In November, 1969, scientists at Harvard Medical School isolated a gene for the first time; in June, 1970, Dr. H. Gobind Khorana, with the aid of other medical scientists, created the first man-made gene at the University of Wisconsin.



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The manufacture of the first test tube gene gives *Brave New World* a startling new sense of reality. The public has a right to be appraised of research conducted in these vital areas as well as to know of the steps being taken, if any, to insure that such discoveries will be used only for the betterment of mankind.

Too often in the past, dialogue came only after the act of discovery and the technological application of new knowledge to purposes detrimental to society. It is essential in a free society to foster open discussions of the potential, good and bad, which surrounds new discoveries. If these discussions are left solely in the hands of specialists, our problems will only be compounded. No myth is more dangerous to the public than the one which maintains that the man who discovers something, should also be the one to decide how this discovery will be used. Of course, his views, and those of his colleagues, are entitled to a careful hearing, but they must never be permitted to assume the mantle of infallibility.

(4) Inevitably, government must play a role in making the decisions regarding how scientific discoveries will be used. It must, if we are to survive, be a drastically different role than it played in the past, however. Just as the solutions to the problems of slums, population and pollution can only be arrived at through long-range planning, so too must the humane uses of science be given greater weight in the councils of government. Mankind has had enough hoarding of the discoveries made by scientists for the purposes of exploiting sectional gain and for furthering national aggrandizement. These practices lead only to greater secrecy, and the consequences can be very tragic. The citizen always pays the price of such folly. Men in government should do everything possible to free society from the tyranny of scientific exploitation by encouraging, only after thoughtful public debate, an acceptance of those programs which are clearly beneficial to the betterment of the human condition.

In the final analysis, we must bear in mind that science itself is neither good nor bad. There are only good and bad uses of science, and these are determined by men. If we are to survive, the goal we must strive to attain in the future is one which will insure that only the right decisions for the uses of science are made by good men dedicated to the betterment of all men everywhere.

## WE ARE SILENT ABOUT THE SYSTEMATIC EXCLUSION OF WORKING-CLASS STUDENTS FROM GRADUATE SCHOOLS

# NO PLACE FOR BLUE-COLLARS

DAVID M. GRAY

A bad situation does not become an issue until we define it as one. We liberals morally and materially support California grape-pickers in their struggle for economic justice, but give nothing to blacks and Puerto Ricans in New York, whose corrupt union leaders sell them out with sweetheart contracts. And we do little to change racist unions determined to remain 98 percent white. We helped starving children in Biafra, but not in Iran, where their number was apparently within tolerable limits. We are angered by tyranny in Greece, but are indifferent to equally brutal repression in Paraguay. We fought to end a quota system restricting college and medical school admissions of minority groups in the 1950's, but we are silent about the massive and systematic exclusion of working-class students from graduate schools in 1970. Now that exclusion is based on financial ability rather than ethnic or religious identity, it is apparently acceptable.

A half-century ago gestalt psychologists said that complete objectivity is impossible for social scientists. They advised experimenters to place themselves in their experiments. The sources of my own bias are easily described. My father, a truck driver with a sixth-grade education, had wanted a better life for his two children, and he endured long hours of hard physical labor and stringent sacrifice to send us to college. My brother and I are now graduate students in biochemistry and mass communications, respectively. My father wrecked his health getting us where we are. My two ventures toward the Ph.D. in psychology at Minnesota and Pennsylvania, were aborted for lack of funds. There is the horror of realizing that no matter how much experience and proven ability I may have, I will never get to be a research director or an associate professor anywhere because I am not legitimated by a Ph.D. The grind of attending evening classes at Temple University after putting in a normal day's work is interminable and my getting a Ph. D. is still in doubt, because supporting a family will not allow me to become a day student. These are the elements of that bias.

C. Wright Mills said that a knowledgeable man can turn his personal troubles into social issues by seeing their relevance for his community. The research project I

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undertook was for just that purpose. Social change is always collective, never individual. In the final analysis my right to attend college was not earned by my father. It was won on the Teamsters' picket lines.

*Social class discrimination is endemic in graduate* education. Two demonstrable facts add up to a powerful negation of the equal opportunity expected in a democracy. First, educational certification is the main determinant of one's job ceiling. In education, government service, business and industry and many other areas, the doctorate is increasingly becoming mandatory for full professional status. Secondly, graduate education is financially inaccessible to a large number of qualified students. Most graduate schools not only do not pay students living wages, they forbid them to hold jobs which would enable them to support themselves. A study that I recently completed included two mail surveys involving deans of students and deans of graduate schools of arts and science at 90 different universities. The deans of students were asked for their estimates of the adequacy of graduate stipends for the support of the typical unmarried student who earns the average amount paid graduate assistants, has average expenses, normal spending habits, and no obligations other than getting an education. Two out of three replied that the stipend would not be adequate. On the whole, such a student would need over $20 a week additional income.

Graduate study may be exceedingly difficult for a single person without independent financial means, but it is virtually impossible for a comparable married man with a family. Since about half of all graduate students are over 30, family men are not uncommon. After taxes and job-related expenses, the average stipend yields about $45 a week, which roughly equals the national averages for unemployment compensation and Aid-to-Dependent-Children allotments. All three are less than half the adequate minimum set by the Bureau of Labor Statistics for a couple with two children.

The graduate school deans were asked what graduate degrees could be earned at their universities by students holding full-time outside jobs. In the majority of cases the official university policy, as stated by these deans, was total exclusion. The percentages of schools lacking even one department in which a student could work his way to a master's degree were: arts and science, 55 percent; education, 41 percent; engineering, 67 percent; business administration, 63 percent. The percentages of schools practicing total exclusion at the doctoral level were: arts and science, 78 percent; education, 81 percent; engineering, 90 percent; business administration, 92 percent.

When the various types of universities were compared, no differences were found between private and state schools; small, medium and large schools; or small-town and big-city schools.

If four out of five universities absolutely refused to accept any Jew, Catholic or black for their Ph.D. programs, there would be a bloody howl from the liberal establishment. Yet, this is precisely the discrimination facing all students who have no choice but to work their way through graduate school. And the liberal establishment has not yet seen fit to break its conspiracy of silence. For all their rhetoric about individual merit being the only legitimate criterion in graduate education, liberals place more importance on personal wealth than on personal talent and virtue.

Statistics suggest the story, but cannot tell it. They say nothing about the traditional role of education as an avenue for upward mobility. Nor about the aspirations and perplexities of working-class students with little prior exposure to the options and obligations of the professional life. Nor about the heroic efforts they make to secure a professional education. Nor about the crushing difficulties of having to scuffle to stay alive added to the ordinarily formidable obstacles of graduate study. Nor about the deprivation and degradation of second-class citizenship to which subdoctoral professionals are relegated, no matter what their experience and demonstrated capability may be.

Under the G.I. Bill, thousands of students went to college, who would not otherwise have gone. They proved that working-class students are qualified for higher education. Many of them now hold Ph. D.'s and determine graduate school practices. Their present behavior reflects a barbaric ingratitude.

What should and must be, if our society is to remain democratic, is equal opportunity at every level of education, up to and including the doctoral. In the strict legal sense, this is a basic right. The 1954 Supreme Court case, *Brown v. Board of Education*, established beyond all question that equal educational opportunity is guaranteed by the 14th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

To make all degree programs financially accessible to all qualified students will require civil rights action. While voluntary reform is preferable, legislative and judicial compulsion will be necessary. One of the most effective measures would be the complete cutting off of federal funds from any university which has even one exclusionist department. There are few universities capable of operating on budgets totally devoid of federal money.



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IF THERE WAS INNOVATION ANYWHERE, IT WAS IN PHILADELPHIA — AND IT FAILED

# CAN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS BE SAVED?

Until very recently public school educators were held in awe. Hadn't the schools provided the means of mobility for generations of children? Hadn't they been the bootstrap for America's immigrant poor? (They had not, but it has been a fantasy hard to destroy. The latest to question this myth is Colin Greer in his brilliant if unnoticed *Cobweb Attitudes* (Teachers College Press, 1970): "the factory and the union (in the first forty years of this century)" rather than the school, were the assimilating agents" and, "Public education was the rubber stamp of economic improvement; rarely has it been the bootstrap.") And if contemporary problems were bothersome there was always the professional's eternal solution, more money. "Give us the tools and we will do the job" was enough to reassure generations of parents and students.

The public school lobby has always thrived on similar myths. One such that has proven extremely embarrassing was the notion sold to the federal government in 1965 that the schools could usher in a new day if only Washington would pump more and more money into their treasuries. That touched off an unprecedented and massive expenditure based on an unproven premise: that there was a direct correlation between money and learning. If you put enough money into increased salaries, texts and classrooms, it was argued, you would get "quality education," especially in city and rural Southern slums.

A second if unspoken myth about the public schools was their relatively painless way to deal with the basic problem of racial segregation. If you could buy "compensatory" education for a black or Chicano child, for example, it becomes less pressing, in educational terms, to find a way to integrate them into the school systems.

The situation was not unlike that of the blind leading the blind. Lyndon Johnson wanted to be Big Daddy to all his little children and the public school lobby and their supporters were only too happy to oblige. But nothing came of all this because the educators had not the slightest idea what the reforms they planned to buy with all that money could do to help children improve in their classrooms.

Do black youngsters perform better with black teachers and black administrators? Are veteran teachers more or less effective than younger faculty? Do students learn best in permissive or more authoritarian settings? How do New York City high schools, for example, compare with, say, Chicago or San Francisco or Omaha schools with reasonably identical environments? It is amazing that professional educators cannot yet answer these questions with any degree of accuracy. And if they cannot, on what basis shall we seek change or even stand still? It is incredible that to this day we do not know if compensatory programs are in trouble because they were the wrong programs, or because they haven't had time to bear fruit, or because of administrative inefficiency.

As these difficulties became more evident and as parents and students and faculties became more discontented, urban school systems began to respond to outside pressures and initiate a wide variety of educational reforms. In many instances they were grudging and half-hearted, designed more as pacification programs than as serious attempts to institute change. For these educators, the cry "innovate all you want so long as you do not change anything," was a means of maintaining their power in the face of angry allegations that they hadn't been able to deliver the goods.

One had only to study many of the so-called reforms and their implementation to sense how many anxious educators attempted to answer their critics. Rarely consulting the classroom teacher or student, experimenters put all kinds of fads into operation. As in the world of fashion, new catchwords became "in" words with dizzying results. Today's new style became tomorrow's discard. Team teaching, television instruction, teaching machines, and a thousand and one "pilot" projects were started with little or no hard knowledge on which to base these experiments.

Yet the failure of these half-hearted reform strategies to reinvigorate the big city schools was brought about by other, equally important factors. "The changes at the top and the bottom are not as important as those at the middle

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for it's the middle managers who can kill you," said a shrewd observer of bureaucratic decision-making not long ago. Genuine and sincere educational reformers have too often discovered that in spite of all good intentions they have had to confront what David Rogers described in a recent essay as "strangled rule-ridden bureaucracies" and the "protectionist policies of many educators (that) have often absorbed, diluted and discredited potentially good programs." Innovative programs in big city schools, he argues, cannot work within an old bureaucracy practicing the old politics. Or, more simply stated, educational reform without administrative reconstruction is without value.

It is a conviction that is not widely shared. Indeed, many radicals as well as piecemeal reformers have in common a mutual belief that the right changes from the top down can save the public schools. A few also insist grassroots initiative is crucial. But that still leaves "the middle managers who can kill you."

### *Philadelphia Effort*

Nowhere was this more evident than in the Philadelphia schools. There, Mark Shedd, a handsome, articulate and reform-minded Superintendent of Schools, tried to turn on the system. Shedd brought with him a vast store of ideas, a large and dedicated staff of brilliant young men and women and great hopes. It was a kind of social revolution by an elite sitting in their offices at central headquarters.

If there was a reform or innovation conceived anywhere in the last five years it was probably either considered or implemented in Philadelphia. The justifiably well-known Parkway School, the first "school without walls" in the country, was started. Shedd brought the prestigious North Carolina Advancement School to his city, hoping that it would become a "major agent of change." Teachers and building principals were offered special incentive funds — as high as $15,000 a school year for principals and up to $3000 for teachers — for their special projects. Sensitivity retreats were arranged, unofficial ombudsmen established, black organizations welcomed into the schools, storefront and community schools encouraged and a "talent pool" of teachers developed from which principals might staff their schools.

Henry Resnick's uneven but important book, *Turning On The System: War in the Philadelphia Public Schools* (Pantheon, $6.95), discusses many of these changes, and despite his obvious sympathies for Shedd and his staff concludes that the Shedd Revolution failed. The old bureaucracy went its own way, at best oblivious to the turmoil in the schools and at worst thoroughly disgusted with Shedd's aides. At the same time headquarters and school staffs resented being told, implicitly at least, that *they* had failed and that *they* and not the city's monumental problems relating to poverty and despair were at fault. This at least is the way they interpreted the Revolution. At the same time Shedd moved to open up administrative ranks to blacks and to sympathetic whites. He did so, swiftly and savagely, for he was permitted to make five percent of his administrative appointments outside of civil service requirements. In retrospect he cleaned out some of the featherbedders and opened up many significant posts to black teachers and supervisors. Yet could it have been accomplished more humanely? Might it not have been possible to encourage early retirement or to add but not fire indiscriminately? Resnik believes its effect was devastating. "Shedd had inadvertently dealt a death blow to the morale of the entire school system."

He also concludes that decentralization was only a shibboleth. "Shedd's talented central staff continued to make the big decisions, and with so much creative thinking going on in the top administration, the system was in some ways more centralized than before."

Even the Advancement School had a "negative effect." Its students "returned to their home schools even more hostile to traditional teaching methods than they had been before. They had glimpsed the future; they had tasted freedom." Said one student: "They turned me on! Then they put me back and let me get turned off again."

In the end, Resnik notes that many people drew back, frightened. "Big systems do not turn on as easily as teeny-boppers." As in foreign policy, one needs to prepare carefully any radical departure from established policy. And one needs not only to carefully explain the changing policies to the public but also to reassure all legitimate interests and to stress their stake in the new programs. This, Shedd failed to do. In reality, his most radical ideas were hardly revolutionary, but generally an omen of some things to come throughout the country. But lacking a firm base of support at headquarters and among his teachers and principals, beset by a divided lay Board of Education and an unsympathetic City Hall and facing the desperate problems of the ghetto, Philadelphia youngsters did no better than pupils in other cities. The Sheddian Great Leap Forward should therefore receive, at least according to Resnik, an "A" for effort and much less for achievement, perhaps, he concludes, because "slow reform was all too often the best one could hope for."

It does not require much wisdom to conclude therefore that in spite of radical, moderate or no innovation at all, if the public schools continue to lose esteem as they have these past few years, parents of all races will abandon them as soon as they can. Public schools have had a magnificent past and it would be disastrous to watch them deteriorate into custodial institutions. But this is what is happening. For public schools are monopolies and as such have too often allowed themselves to become flaccid and dull, uninspiring and unstimulating for many students. Administrative and educational reform is fine but by themselves they will accomplish little until this monopoly is challenged head-on to *prove* to parents and students



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who are critical that they can do a better job than competitors. Is it too much to imagine that one day other kinds of *public* schools will vie with the traditional schools to see which is more effective in teaching the 3 R's? Is it too fantastic to offer up the vision that someday soon communities will house a traditional school, a Summerhill, a Harlem Prep, a Montessori School, a Parkway School, one run by a university, another by a teachers' union, etc., all supported by tax-levy funds, and all open to whoever wishes to attend? Given adequate safeguards against racial and class discrimination might we then not begin to develop concrete knowledge about how children learn best and under what circumstances? We might even develop a wide variety of methods with which to reach some of our alienated young. The possibilities are virtually limitless.

Someone once compared our educational requirements to a supermarket. What we ought to be searching for, Professor Marilyn Gittell of Queens College recently told the Committee on Education and Labor of the House of Representatives, "is a broadening of choices and options rather than single solutions. Psychological research is plentiful enough to establish the great diversity of experience and personality in learners which should warrant differences in learning approaches."

Alternative schools could offer a great number of educational techniques and approaches or develop new ones without having to please huge and remote bureaucracies or a city of varied veto groups. The only ones to be satisfied would be parents and students. If they could accomplish only that then the effort would be worthwhile. And it might just work wonders for the traditional schools as well, freeing classroom teachers and administrators from the rigid patterns of the past. At least it's worth another pilot project or two. The survival of our big-city public schools is at stake.

## HOWEVER LATIN AMERICAN EDUCATION MAY BE STRUCTURED, EVEN IN CUBA THE SYSTEM IS INHERENTLY ELITIST

# SCHOOLS, SI; EDUCATION, NO

JORDAN BISHOP

Myths die hard, especially when they involve deeply the hopes of a people. And in Latin America, the myth of education is written into the hearts of many, and finds expression in the political constitutions of most Latin American republics. The Bolivian constitution, reformed in 1967, states explicitly that "Education is the highest function of the State, and in the exercise of this function, the State should foment the culture of the people" (article 177). The same article of the Constitution goes on to say: "Freedom of teaching is guaranteed under the vigilance of the State. Public education is free and is to be imparted on the basis of the unified and democratic school. It is obligatory at the primary level."

In a conference given to a group of Bolivian intellectuals in Cochabama in October of 1969, I cited the above articles from the Constitution. After the conference a local lawyer asked from what edition of the United States Constitution they were taken. Ostensibly the reality of the local situation is so far from the situation envisioned in the constitution that the lawyer assumed that it was the U.S. Constitution that was cited. Illiteracy remains at something like 70 percent, and probably close to 50 percent of the population do not speak Spanish—the official language—as their mother tongue. It is completely utopian to speak of universal, free public education within present school structures under such conditions, even in the towns. In the *campo* the impossibility of sending every child to primary school is even more evident: there is a chronic shortage of funds, of teachers, of school buildings, and many *campo* children have more important things to do than going to school; girls five years old spend their days tending sheep as they make thread with the ever-present spindle. Yet Bolivia spends something over a third of its budget on education. With a population of about 4.5 million, there are eight universities and over 15 thousand students. The country boast three faculties of medicine, yet with very few exceptions, there are no doctors in rural areas. The universities, as is the whole school system, both public and private, serve principally for the selection, formation and conservation of a privileged elite. This becomes quite evident when one considers the fact that all schools, public and private, must follow a standard graded curriculum which is in fact programmed in view of eventual university training. This means in effect that the whole school system is set up for the benefit of the three percent of any given age group who actually do reach the university.

It is true that Bolivia, with one of the lowest per capita incomes in the continent, is an extreme case.

At the other extreme is Cuba, where every attempt is being made to turn the dream of universal education into

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a reality. Instead of soap or new cars, billboards advertise school attendance. Spot ads on television proclaim the availability of scholarships for those who can pass the exams. Despite a shortage of teachers, new schools are built in the *campo*, and most classrooms are equipped with television sets: schedules of televised classes are published daily in the press, and both channels are occupied from eight or nine in the morning until three in the afternoon with educational programs or televised classes. Teachers share these classes with their students and have 20 minutes for discussion after the televised classes are over. The televised classes themselves are given, usually in a traditional lecture, by the best of Cuba's young and dynamic teachers, and are on the whole well-prepared and interesting. It is probably too early to assess the results of this program, which enables relatively inexperienced teachers to participate in the televised class with their students before discussing the contents with them. Yet even here, one has doubts about the final results of the school system. The same elements are present as in any school system: a graded curriculum, and somewhere along the line, a process of selection which of necessity tends to the formation of an elite. Manual labor is now a part of the system, yet on the whole it appears to be more of a token than a real participation in productive labor, part of a schooling process rather than a real commitment to the values proclaimed by the revolution.

### *In a Classless Society*

The case of Cuba is exceptional and the effort made is heroic. Yet it seems to me that there is more irony in this situation than in some of the others; a society which accepts as its utopia a classless society has given top priority to a school system which must of necessity produce a new elite. Cubans say no, that the system only has this effect in capitalistic societies. Their faith in socialism is admirable, but the elite pattern is already forming.

Particularly in view of the increasing North American presence in Latin America (Cuba is educationally far ahead of the rest of Latin America; its school system was reorganized by Americans over 50 years ago), there is a movement to widen the popular base of educational structures and to make education more functional in terms of human resources. Education is seen as a dimension of development. University reform has been attempted in various ways ever since the student revolt in the University of Cordoba, Argentina, in 1918. Programs and options for students are widened, made more flexible, although the rigidity of university structures is often such that a Chilean administrator told this writer two years ago that one reason for the political activism of students is that given university structures, politics is the only creative activity open to the students.

On other levels, experts from the United States give talks on the comprehensive high school, although today most of them are aware of the danger of transplanting structures from one culture to another. In any event, there is much opposition to reform measures, since most of these run headlong into a complex net of vested interests. The introduction of a departmental system in place of the rigid and closed faculty system of the Napoleonic university is rejected as an "imperialist attempt to domesticate the university." It is true that such reforms would often upset the balance of power, and students fear that the occasion would be taken to suppress their rights of co-government, a result of the movement begun in Cordoba. Attempts to reform and modernize curricula on other levels meet strong resistance from professors who feel themselves unable to adapt to such changes. In Bolivia there has been some reduction in the number of courses required, but programs are still set up to enable professors to moonlight by day, teaching in three or four different institutions. This means for example that a subject such as English, required for all students at the secondary level, is given for two, or sometimes three hours weekly over a period of two or three years. When English is taught in this way as one of as many as twelve subjects, by professors who are not native English speakers and who in some cases cannot speak the language, the chances of any student's really learning the language are almost nil. In itself this is not too great a loss, since the presence of the language in the curriculum is more a matter of prestige than of function. However, in a poor country the expense involved in paying teachers who dedicate themselves systematically to wasting their time and that of the students is tragic.

Despite years of patient work on the part of enlightened administrators and educational reformers, the rigidity of curricula remains in most places. Some countries, Cuba for example, have programs that vary according to local needs. Special authorization can be obtained for experimental programs. But on the whole the pattern of a universal, unique graded curriculum, imposed on all schools by the ministry of education, is still the dominant pattern. This is often defended in terms of national unity, even though it means that the same program must be followed, down to the last hour of class, in an elite university prep school in the capital and in a small agricultural community far from any urban center.

From a social point of view, attempts at reform of educational structures can only serve to prolong the agony. However it may be structured, the system is inherently elitist. Attempts are sometimes made to widen the base, as for example in the recent suppression of entrance examinations to the university in Bolivia. In practice this means only that the three percent of a given age group who make it through secondary school enter the university without an examination, where two-thirds of them will be eliminated during the first year by routine exams in what students already call a "white massacre."

In Peru, even in mountain communities where Quechua



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is the only language spoken by the majority of the people, it is forbidden by law to teach in Quechua. The same principle prevails in most Latin American countries where there are indigenous majorities or minorities. In effect, the language and culture of the urban-based white or mestizo elements, the upper and middle classes of an already elitist society, are given a normative value in the school system. Alphabetization in the Andes usually means in practice teaching people to read and write in Spanish, a language which is a second language for the minority of campesino children who know it at all. Recently an article appeared on popular education in a Cochabama, Bolivia, daily, entitled "The Bolivianization of the Indian." By learning Spanish and submitting to the cultural domination of the elites, the Quechua-speaking campesino becomes a Bolivian. Many experts in linguistics believe that literacy skills can be taught with relative ease if the mother tongue of the person is the vehicle employed, and the question has been much-discussed in Andean countries. The "nationalist" criteria have so far always prevailed. There is in fact no quarrel with the desire that Quechua-speakers learn Spanish, as a useful and often necessary means of communication that transcends national boundaries. But the cultural implications of such policies are much deeper. Only in Paraguay, where the Jesuit missioners of 300 years ago succeeded in establishing a society on another basis, is Guarani an official language.

The attitudes reflected with respect to the problem of language constitute a close parallel to the institution of the school as it exists. The cultural norms of entire nations are defined from the top, and the values of ruling elites are made the norm so that those who deviate from these values, either by having another mother tongue or by dropping out of school before reaching the top, are automatically defined as second-class citizens. It is hard to escape the impression that the system is really more important than any learning that may take place, and that resistance or indifference to curriculum reform may well reflect an awareness of the fact the curriculum reforms are quite irrelevant to the process that takes place in the school systems. At present they are not designed to facilitate learning and often positively impede it. The hard fact is that the latent functions of discipline and selection are the only really important functions of most Latin American school systems as they now exist.

The present situation is grim, yet there are factors which provide some hope for a revolution in education rather than useless reforms. The first is the utter impossibility of financing a school system which would really provide universal education. Dominant elites continue to repeat the official ideology, and in some cases may actually believe it. Thus far no Latin American politician or minister of education has come to recognize the problem and express it clearly, as has, for example, Julius K.


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Nyerere of Tanzania. The progress of revolutionary ideologies may offer another hope, since the elitist and class-dominated character of present school systems is in blatant contradiction to the values proclaimed by revolutionaries. Unfortunately, most revolutionary leaders are themselves products of the system or seduced by its appeal. One of the effects of the selective process is the systematic co-opting of the more vital and dynamic elements from the lower classes. Invited to join the ruling minorities, they cease to dream of social change, and it is a fact that a number of Latin American revolutionary leaders come from the established upper and middle classes rather than from school-domesticated elites of proletarian origin.

Nevertheless, the inherent contradiction between the school system and the ideology that supports it can eventually reach explosive dimensions. Universal education with equal access to the culture which the school system defines as the norm is patently impossible. It effectively prevents any real movement towards the formation of a common culture and deepens class distinctions and social contradiction. This is probably true in any society, but the contradiction is much more evident in Latin America. The last century saw the formation of anticlerical movements in a number of Latin American countries, and one result has been a partial liberation of peoples from clerical domination and the beginnings of a renewal of the church. It may be hoped that an eventual revolt against the new clerisy, that of the schoolmasters, might eventually bring a revolution in education.

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# THE SCREEN

Film dedications don't usually mean much. Although Francois Truffaut dedicated his last film, *Mississippi Mermaid*, to Renoir, the film itself remained as dedicated as ever to the same Hitchcockery that's preoccupied Truffaut since *Shoot the Piano Player*. Yet it may be significant that Truffaut's new film, *The Wild Child*, is dedicated to Jean-Pierre Leaud. Leaud was the star of Truffaut's first feature, *The 400 Blows*. Like that film, *The Wild Child* is about a 13-year-old boy and has been shot in black and white, which Truffaut hadn't used for years. Like very little that lies between them in Truffaut's career, *The Wild Child* and *The 400 Blows* are also both documentary in mood. The dedication to Leaud suggests Truffaut's work may finally have come full cycle. The influence of Hitchcock had stalled him in mid-career so completely, he's needed somehow to go back and begin again.

Unlike *The 400 Blows*, however, *The Wild Child* was made from the point of view of an adult. This was something Truffaut was quick to point out at his press conference at the New York Film Festival. He feels making a film about a child, but in sympathy with an adult, is definitely a new departure for him. The adult is Dr. Jean Itard of Paris, and his story is a true one that began in 1798. A boy was captured that year in a provincial forest where, by some mystery never to be solved, he had come to live as a wild animal. Through an association with the Institute for the Deaf and Dumb, Dr. Itard obtained permission to bring the boy home in order to educate him. The record of Itard's efforts that Truffaut



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has adapted is Itard's own journal.

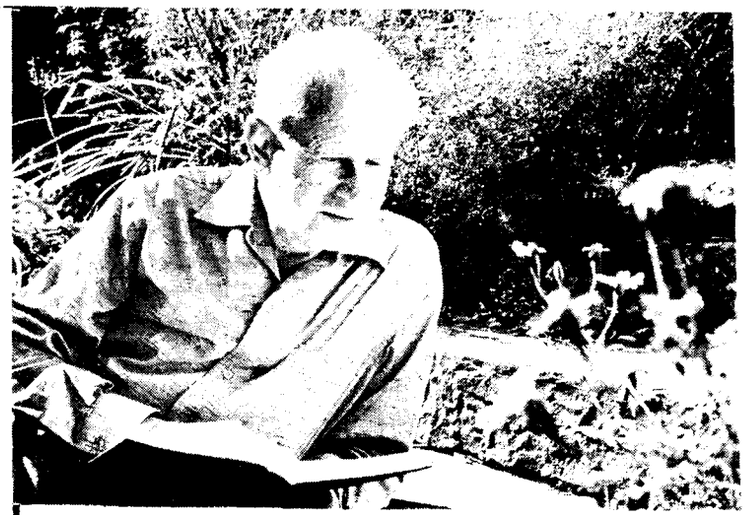
The journal is a remarkable document because Itard was very much a man of his times — times that had produced the French Revolution, and regretted its excesses. When Itard wished to test the boy's sense of justice, for instance, he prompted him to rebel at an injustice. Only a Citizen of the Republic could appreciate the paradox that placed such low value on innocent obedience. Yet Itard was a conservative man: a scientist, a believer in discipline, reason and civility. The journal of his relationship with the boy is an account of the Noble Savage written by a *philosophe*. The *"rapport,"* to use Itard's own title word in a double sense, was a confrontation between a descendant of Voltaire and the alter-ego of Rousseau.

Itard's story invites comparison with *The Miracle Worker*, and at his press conference Truffaut was glad to entertain that comparison. But his film isn't as slick as Arthur Penn's. While he's used some technical conventions from the silent screen, such as the iris fade, to make the story seem remote in time, dramatically it's rather flat. The boy wasn't Helen Keller (he never even learned to speak), so the film doesn't progress as if it were *The Miracle Worker*. The quality of a stalemate is in fact what makes the film unmistakably Truffaut's. *The 400 Blows* ends with a freeze-frame, and in a sense his films all end that way. Even the Hitchcock material he used usually wound up confounded with insoluble mysteries. His sense of the finality of that stalemate has always been plain to see.

Eleven years ago he felt a certain outrage that a man, or a boy, can't win some decisive victory over life. Now he wishes to come to terms with that defeat without anger. This is where he and Dr. Itard meet. Since Truftaut plays Itard in the film, it's fair to say he has done more than merely sympathize with this particular adult. He has identified himself with Itard. It is Itard's personality, not the boy or the story, that caught his fancy in the first place. When he was asked at the press conference why he chose the role for his acting debut, Truffaut replied, "I never had the feeling I was acting: I was just directing in front of the camera." He made it clear this was his judgment on the relation between Itard and the boy. He also said that when he'd finished the film he was surprised how like *The 400 Blows* it was.

But climbing on to the screen and seeing incorrigible adolescence through Itard's eyes is quite different from seeing it the way Truffaut did when directing *The 400 Blows*. A final question was put to him about the wild child's place in the current cinema. His somewhat acid comment was that "Many films are now being made about students who turn into hippies. Mine is about a hippy who turns into a student." Truffaut has changed. He's endured the full 400 blows and begun to grow old, which may make a new director out of him.

*Colin L. Westerbeck, Jr.*



# WHY MARCUSE MATTERS

JOSEPH L. WALSH

It is important to assess the significance of Herbert Marcuse, a remarkable figure whose name, while it increasingly evokes hostility from formerly respectful peers, also finds itself lifted on banners in world-wide student revolts. The appearance of four new books by or about Marcuse provides us with an opportunity to do (*Herbert Marcuse, Five Lectures*, Beacon Press, Boston, 1970, $1.95 paper; Alasdair MacIntyre, *herbert Marcuse: An Exposition and a Polemic*, Viking Press, New York, 1970, $1.65 paper; Robert W. Marks, *The Meaning of Marcuse*, Ballantine Books, New York, $1.25 paper; *Critical Interruptions: New Left Perspectives on Herbert Marcuse*, Paul Breines, ed., Herder and Herder, New York $5.50).

In the two books by MacIntyre and Marks we see evidence of Marcuse's tendency to evoke exasperation in fellow scholars, even among those sympathetic to his aims. Marks presents a useful exposition of Marcuse's thought but in his evaluation resolves his ambivalence only by calling Marcuse "a kind of poet." In this way he accounts for Marcuse's popularity and influence as well as for what he feels is Marcuse's continuous obscurity. MacIntyre provides a much more substantive critique, raising important questions, to which we shall refer below, but in what is unfortunately too brief and schematic a format to do them justice. Critical of Marcuse's failure to develop a fully coherent system of thought equal to the



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total social reconstruction he advocates, MacIntyre in one place concludes that Marcuse's resurrected, twentieth-century Young Hegelianism in the end "turns out alas to be senile."

But Marcuse is able in some to produce more than exasperation, as we see in *Critical Interruptions*, a book of essays by six former students and followers of Marcuse's. For these young authors, the significance of Marcuse lies in his recognizing and naming the forces unique to the maintenance and growth of the modern industrial system. In Marcuse's laying bare the administrative-manipulative apparatus that keeps all of us in industrial society consuming-producing-consuming, each of these authors has recognized the feelings, perceptions and responses they and many of their generation now seek to throw off. It is this discerning of the existence and origin of technological society's dominative and liberating forces that primarily accounts, I would suggest, for Marcuse's influence and for what could perhaps be his historic significance. The authors of *Critical Interruptions* have recognized in themselves Marcuse's *One Dimensional Man* (Beacon Press, Boston, 1964). But what is more important, his thought has offered them at least the hope of an alternative. In identifying an enemy — the administrative - manipulative apparatus — for what they hate in themselves, he discovers a cause and offers the hope that a change in "the system" can result in their being something better than they are now.

To properly account for Marcuse's influence it is necessary to see our era as the beginning, not the culmination, of a new social system. Two other thinkers have developed this perspective well. Zbigniew Brezinski (*Between Two Eras*, New York, 1970) and John McDermott (*The New York Review of Books*, July 31, 1969) have argued that animating the world-wide student rebellion is primarily a revulsion against being transformed into productive agents and managers of the new technetronic society. Brezinki and McDermott have quite different evaluations of this situation of course. For Brezinski the students are like the nineteenth-century Luddites futilely resisting the inevitable and inexorable weight of development. For McDermott, on the other hand, they are a new pre-proletariat, resisting a new and more repressive, if subtler, stage of dehumanized political and occupational existence. But, significantly, both Brezinski and McDermott interpret the present student rebellions not as leading to the delayed Marxist-socialist overthrow of capitalism, but as in fact a struggle against the emerging social order, the governmentally-managed, producing-consuming new industrial state.

Alasdair MacIntyre is correct then in describing Marcuse as a pre-Marxist, rather than a Marxist thinker, for it is the struggle described by Brezinski and McDermott to which he is addressing himself. Unlike Marx who was a critic of a maturing capitalism whose evils and excess were patent, Marcuse is better seen as a critic, inspired by Marx, of a new system whose evils are only now beginning to be recognized.

It is a central idea in Marcuse that the present industrial system requires the transformation of essential human needs for food, clothing, shelter and relaxation into media-manipulated pseudo-needs for the products of affluence. For Marcuse, the society requires the creation of these artificially-engendered needs so that its products will be consumed in ever-increasing amounts and in order that vast numbers of highly-educated technicians, to fill these same needs in themselves, stay at the meaningless, alienating jobs which create and market inherently unneeded products.

For Marcuse and the authors of *Critical Interruptions*, the creation and stimulation of pseudo-need requires that the administrative-manipulative apparatus penetrate into the psychic processes, and particularly the sexual phantasies, of those who must be made to consume and to produce to consume. The growth and maintenance of the system depends on the continued stimulation of desires for a vast array of products and pleasures which in themselves are incapable of delivering the complete fulfillment that the system promises. The result is a population ever more frustrated in its unfulfilled expectations, a people who have been promised everything and given *only* Arpege. For Marcuse, the resultant frustration begets internal aggression which in turn is externalized against imagined or relatively impotent foreign enemies, against its own young and dissident minorities and against itself in high-speed vehicles and various death-dealing drugs and poisons.

It is in this inevitable external and internal violence, and its resultant reactions, that Marcuse discerns an inherent fascism in industrial, commercially-oriented societies. This frustration and resultant repression has an even deeper base, as Marcuse sees it, than in artificially-induced economic needs and expectations.

Marcuse follows Freud in positing a necessary sublimation of man's physical and sensual instincts as the basis for culture and

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civilization. But whereas Freud assumed that increasing "progress" would demand ever more intense control and regulation of the instincts (with psychoanalysis meliorating though not eliminating the effects of that psychic repression), Marcuse believes that instinctual repression has now reached an excessive level at least in affluent societies. The level of regulation and control of man in these societies, according to Marcuse, is much greater than is rationally needed for a satisfying human existence; it has become, in other words a "surplus repression." For Marcuse, man's technological accomplishments now make it possible to allow much greater freedom to his instinctual life. Fundamental human needs can now be met without the intense discipline and control that were once necessary for man to survive and dominate his environment. Marcuse believes that the fundamental cause of increasing frustration and resultant aggression in affluent societies is the conflict on man's deepest level between his "life-instincts," ever stronger as man's health and consciousness increases, and the repressive, irrationally-organized social structures that continue to dominate these instincts in ways no longer suited to man's present possibilities.

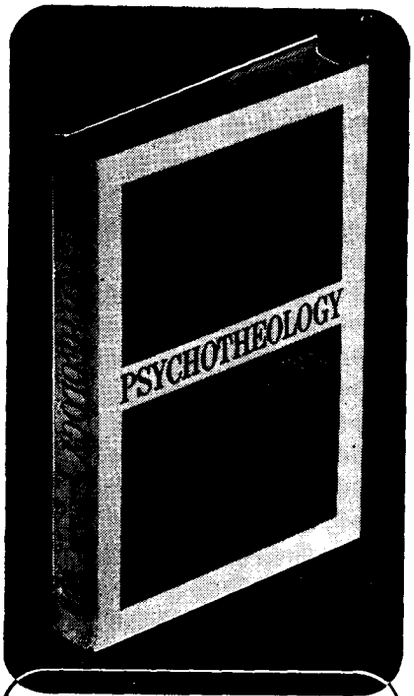
It is at this point that Marcuse turns to the young and sees in them the hope for attaining a new social order. Many Marxist, left-liberal and welfare-socialist thinkers, conscious of their own isolation from the young, have sought to attribute Marcuse's influence to youthful impatience with non-utopian solutions and political irrationalism. But this is only partially true and is very misleading. Marcuse succeeds with the young because he appeals to their legitimate self-interest. For Marcuse the new dissidents are neither a revolutionary proletariat nor potential voters in a new pressure group for goals formulated in a pre-technological age of scarcity. Marcuse sees in them the first manifestations of a new kind of man struggling to be born, the first signs of hope in a social order, whether capitalist or bureaucratic socialist, that is at present on its way to producing an inhuman one-dimensionality. In the youthful dissidents Marcuse discerns the first signs of a liberated, post-industrial consciousness. Their playfulness and sensuousness, their rejection of out-model bureaucracies and hierarchies, their rejection of consumersim and all its works, he sees as confirmations of what he believes history is seeking to produce.

Contrary to what many of his critics say, Marcuse does not consider the youthful dissidents to be a new proletariat or revolutionary class. In *Five Lectures* he says that they represent only the first signs of a new consciousness which rejects the producer-consumer society and its irrationally ordered structures and repressions. He is careful to say that by themselves this group cannot produce a revolutionary change in society and that new consciousness must be more widely shared if it is to be socially significant.

Marcuse repeatedly calls for links between the student dissidents and the "new working classes." It is well known that in the near-revolutionary days of May in France in 1968, workers in the "new" industries (electronics, chemicals, radio, television and education) widely participated, often citing Marcuse's influence on them. Michael Harrington has recently called attention to the extension of the hippie ideology or the political and personal values of the counter-culture to college-educated workers in this country. It is phenomena like these which give substance to Marcuse's intimations of the possible emergence of a new kind of man on a much wider than merely a student basis.

But can what Marcuse sees really happen, and even more *how* can it really happen? As Alasdair MacIntyre points out, Marcuse, unlike Marx, never deals with concrete evidence and when he attempts to be programmatic, his solutions often produce only more questions. This is particularly so when he attempts to deal with the relation between those in whom the liberated consciousness is breaking through and the unliberated majorities in the developed and underdeveloped countries.

Marcuse is adamant in insisting that the majority of people in developed countries are completely impervious to his call to the great refusal. Marcuse admits, of course, that the frustration and anxiety of all the population continues to increase for the reasons described above. On the other hand, he is equally certain that the administrative manipulative apparatus so successfully controls the majority that no viable alternative to their present life can be grasped by them.


A PSYCHOLOGIST and a priest have written a book that is both wise and filled with sharp criticisms. They consider a wide range of psychotheological categories, letting the special insights of religion and the behavioral sciences play against each other. How, for example, can religion underscore one's personal identity? How does time, and especially belief in a future life, affect one's actions in this life? What psychological insights can be found in the religious teaching of Jesus Christ?

The authors call for a new openness to unify the viewpoints of theology and psychology to achieve a single, multi-dimensional view of man and the human situation. The Church of the future, they say, must be ready to accept the disturbed, the troubled, the frightened, and be able to assure them that to be alive is good, that living is redemptive. $5.25

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The result, as Marcuse sees it, is that the possessors of liberated consciousness, are fated to be for the foreseeable future at least in vigorous opposition to the majority of the people.

Further difficulties are created by Marcuse's tendency to concretize, indeed to demonize, the administrative-manipulative system as the source of society's ills. As we have already seen, this system for Marcuse is so powerful and cohesive that it penetrates everywhere. Only a few are able to get free of its influence. There are times when Marcuse portrays this system as being without leaders, embodying "a higher force" in such a way that no one person or group of persons can be held responsible for controlling and directing it *(Five Lectures)*. At other times he implies, in traditional old-left fashion, that if the oppressors who run the system are replaced by those with the new consciousness they can, by means of a new kind of dictatorship, a counter-administration, purify the minds of the majority of "the horrors spread by the established administration."

Marcuse's intellectual anti-populism and his old-left revolutionary impatience get the better of him here and land him in serious trouble. As MacIntyre points out, "Both the Jacobins and Lenin believed in a temporary dictatorship of the majority over counterrevolutionary minorities — whatever they may have practiced. But it was left to Marcuse to profess a belief in a dictatorship by a minority." For all of us, hopefully, the horrors of revolutions carried out against the majority by enlightened "counter-administrators" are still sufficiently fresh in our memories to make this aspect of his thought unacceptable.

Fortunately, however, I do not believe that Marcuse's thought carries necessarily in this elitist direction. There are other, and I think deeper currents, that lead away from these essentially irresponsible tactics. For instance, I believe one can accept Marcuse's penetrating insight about the administrative-manipulative apparatus and its creation of second, consumer-producer nature without concluding, as he does, that the system is therefore omnipotent. Powerful signs of strain have begun to appear in these structures whether or not one attributes them to Marcuse's Eros (life instinct). In a study on the attitudes of American college youth, *Fortune* (January, 1969) concluded that 40 percent of them are deeply dissatisfied with the jobs offered them in consumer-producer culture. These and other studies like the recent Harris polls carried out for the Heard report on campus dissent indicate that increasingly large numbers of those destined to occupy society's key positions desire fundamental change in its ways of life and work.

No one would suggest that these indications of change foretell the imminence of Herbert Marcuse's utopia. They are merely confirmatory signs of what I believe is, in spite of many disquieting ambiguities, Marcuse's central message, viz., that the dynamics of technological society do not necessarily lie in the direction of conformity and a new age of the pharaohs but in a new level of humanity.

This central message is of potentially great significance in solving at least some of the conflict between the sharers of the new consciousness and the many who do not. Its significance lies in lifting the despair of those tempted to hurl themselves against an unhearing majority in futile violent clashes and terrorist destruction; it lies in telling those who feel, consciously or not, a new culture knocking against their bones, that the future is on their side.

Marcuse's central message also has significance for those who seek to lead the forces of the new culture towards important and unrealized political and welfare goals. If technology is seeking to produce utopian transformations on the deepest levels of man's being, then the demands of the new culture, already spreading beyond student populations, themselves represent new human needs. Failure to grasp this fact inevitably results in liberals and leftists alike dismissing the new culture's failure to work for their goals as adolescent impatience or selfishness. The impact of Marcuse's message, of course, is that these goals themselves must be transformed in order to better respond to all the forces at work in our time.

*It cannot be said that Marcuse himself* provides adequate direction for the formulation of these goals and for responding to the new culture. Indeed, he needs correction on several other points. Despite his occasional calls to the young dissidents to align themselves with the dispossessed in their own and in underdeveloped countries, there is little in his work that helps break through the narcissism and selfishness that goes with believing, particularly when you are young, that you are the wave of the future. Nor does he, in my opinion, sufficiently prepare his followers for the immense personal and social struggle involved in throwing off, even in themselves, the hold of the consumer culture. On these and related matters it is undoubtedly necessary for others to supplement and correct his work.


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But for his central contribution he must be praised. Marcuse has given hope in a society whose intellectuals for years have been predicting its ultimate outcome in terms of a well-appointed bureaucratic cage. Marcuse has spoken through that cultural pessimism by discerning within the dynamics of historical development itself the powers for transcending that fate. That's why Marcuse matters.

# BOOKS

## *An intelligent women's guide to feminism*

***Sexual Politics***

KATE MILLET

*Doubleday, $7.95*

NANCY R. McWILLIAMS

"Politics" has many meanings. Kate Millet uses the word to mean "power - structured realtionships, arrangements whereby one group of persons is controlled by another." She is consistent in her usage, and makes an impressive case for the existence of long neglected power relationships between the sexes, extending from examples of individual preoccupations with mastery, dominance, and humiliation in the sex act to a whole theory of the subjugation throughout history of one sex by the other. "Intercourse in the service of power" is repeatedly exposed by Millett's probing into our sexual assumptions, fears, fantasies, and practices; the reader senses the weight of rigorous academic investigation pressing relentlessly on the timeworn situation of male and female — or, rather, male *versus* female.

*Sexual Politics* is impressive as scholarship. While the work drags in places as a result of being a Ph.D. thesis, Millett's analysis transcends academese enough, by humor and passion, to reach and move a wide audience. Her main audience, of course, was ready-made in the new feminism, which has found the comprehensive theory it has desired for some time.

Millett is at her best when dissecting the attitudes of literary men. The passages she comments on are well chosen and insightfully treated. For Henry Miller her examination is especially devastating; hopefully, his reputation as pioneer of natural, healthy attitudes toward sex has now been adequately tarnished. Norman Mailer gets an equally harsh and equally appropriate treatment. On D.H. Lawrence, Millett is perhaps too harsh. Too many readers, including many rather liberated women, have found in his work the sound of truth about the kind of self-abandon that happens in the most moving sexual experiences, a process which Doris Lessing called "a vague, dark generalized sensation like being swirled in a warm whirlpool." To Millett such abandon may imply "surrender," and hence battle, but one can surrender to one's own physicality rather than necessarily to the will of a dominating Other, and Lawrence often writes as if this is what happens.

The hero of *Sexual Politics* is Jean Genet, whose writing is given the most sensitive analysis in terms of the stark power relationships it depicts, including the picture of the homosexual queen as lowest of the low because of his willingness to play the role of woman, i.e. of weak inferiority. This excursion into the cultural attitudes toward femaleness that emerge so badly in the world of the homosexual is most troubling because of its ring of truth. Still, one wonders how much the "queen" is held in contempt for femininity *per se* and how much for simply not accepting his biology, presumably the reason "butch" lesbians are ridiculed.

On the question of the "basic" psychology of women, as approached from psychoanalytic, anthropological, sociological, and biological researches, the value of Millett's work is diminished by the effects of her missionarism. Results of animal behavior studies and research on the

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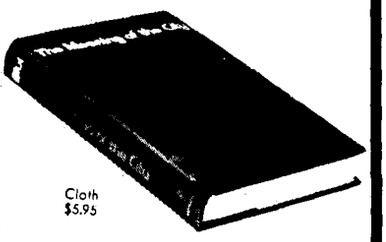

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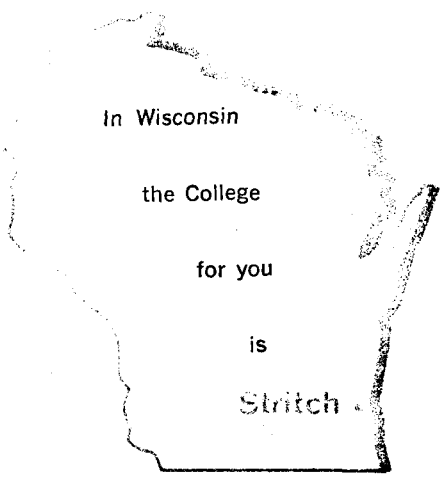
role of hormones, for instance, are either ignored, deemed irrelevant, or explained away on other terms when they indicate fundamental sex differences; yet where such research indicates equivalence of the sexes, it is heralded. Millett mentions John Money's conclusion that gender identity is a matter of social learning but neglects his finding that women given male hormones become more aggressive and sexually desirous. Such eclecticism is unfortunate. It is as if to consider the possibility of natural sex *differences* is equivalent to acknowledging female inferiority, a curious bias.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That attitude certainly pervades Millett's response to Erikson, whose frank admiration of what he considers female virtues is read as little more than smug condescension. Moreover, what Erikson cites as the values of mature femininity—realism of upbringing, resourcefulness in peace-keeping and devotion to healing—are implicitly treated as in the same category with those female traits which more clearly derive from subjugation—unimpressive intellect, wiliness, childlike emotionality, and other indications of a subservient mentality. This is to lose a great deal for the sake of argument.

To differentiate a slave mentality from what may be the characteristics of a mature and free woman is a tough order because free women, and indeed free people, are rare. In the United States, even women with professional skills and some autonomy suffer the effects of our culture's constant assertions that a woman's self-esteem must derive solely from her power to attract men. At the same time that intellectual magazines are stumbling over one another in their haste to give Millett a fashionably enthusiastic review, the best-seller lists reflect the phenomenal success of *The Sensuous Woman*, a gushy "how-to" book that elevates the craft of the courtesan to the highest art of womanhood, and a testimony to all that Millett rightly deplores.

*The Sensuous Woman* reviews the advantages of femininity (being waited on, freedom to cry, happy self-sacrifice to love, getting expensive "loot" from admirers), covers erotic techniques, and advises on how to fake orgasm to prop up the male ego. Describing itself as "a complete arsenal of . . . sexual weapons" to employ in controlling men, the book oozes, both a power-play mentality and a ruthless capitalist economics of sex. Apparently, thousands of American women are carefully equipping themselves for intercourse in the service of power, and this same audience is most in need of a clear picture from writers like Kate Millett of the values of a different way of living. In this important sense, *Sexual Politics* is itself a political book, political in the more inclusive sense meaning the pursuit of the good life, and influencing people to achieve it.

It is the political orientation of Millett's work that is most unsettling, however. Behind the professed radicalism of *Sexual Politics* lies a rather naive liberal individualism of the classic sort: the absence of restraint (by role, by anatomy, by the will of others) constitutes freedom and progress. Millett communicates a strong feeling of the separation of mind and body, including an implicit contempt for the latter, and asserts unquestiongly that what is distinctly human and therefore valuable is what transcends biology ("human pursuits . . . as distinct from biological or reproductive"). Her ideal society would run on a kind of giant merit system, including "the collective professionalization (and consequent improvement) of the care of the young." Such faith in professionalism is remarkable in an age when in all other respects we are dreading prospects of a Brave New World.

Ironically, Millett's work appears at a time when social science describes some devastating by-products of a society built on liberal individualist assumptions: alienation, anomie, despair. The best contemporary radical thought deals with the problem of *community*, with politics as defined by what we *share*, as in terms of John Schaar and Sheldon Wolin when discussing the Berkeley People's Park.

Most important advances in our knowledge as a race do come from Millett's kind of creative scholarship, where many things we knew as scattered, unrelated facts become synthesized or take on changed significance in the context of a new theoretical framework. And most writers of good theory do work to make a case and thus select their evidence accordingly; many truths are discovered this way. But for these reasons *Sexual Politics* is also incomplete.

The most critical work of the feminist movement must be to put forth new ways of sharing which bring communal satisfactions to the simple fact of liberation, and on this Millett is quite vague. The joys of a universal sisterhood will last only until its most common goals are reached, which appears to be soon. The movement must go beyond liberation to the elucidation of the good life, and the theoretical foundation for this must not end with the exposure of the evils of patriarchy—for blaming men, either as individuals or by abstraction is a dead-end in the same way that the blame felt by guilty white liberals does little for our race relations — but rather it must be the closest approximation to the truth which we are all capable of making.



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## Dietrich Bonhoeffer

EBERHARD BETHGE

*Harper and Row. $17.95*

**MARTIN E. MARTY**

Shed a tear for Eberhard Bethge. He went underground in the face of the Nazi threat, in the company of a young professor named Dietrich Bonhoeffer. They shared life in a clandestine seminary and in separate prisons for ten years. After Bonhoeffer became a victim of Hitler's forces in their declining days, Pastor Bethge single-mindedly devoted himself for a quarter century to the task of editing, interpreting, and publicizing the writings of his friend and uncle-in-law. The climax of this devoted (but not undignified or subservient) career is this gigantic biography. It has appeared in Germany, England, and the United States.

Poor Bethge! The reviews are now coming in, and few of them talk about the book. They all talk about its subject. In the Anglo-American world publication was timed for the twenty-fifth anniversary of its hero's death, and reviewers use the occasion in secular journals to introduce new audiences to a strange person, a theologian whose life was interesting. In religious periodicals the reviewers have taken the occasion to debate the level of interest in Bonhoeffer stock. Depending upon the reviewer, the young theologian-victim continues to influence today's worldly theology—or he is passe, the victim of over-publicity and ugly new turns in the world. (The *Christian Science Monitor* sent a steadfast reporter on a tour of seminaries recently and found, as I recall, that Bonhoeffer was still read along with Teilhard but that both were slightly eclipsed by seminarians' interest in a more recent shaper, Malcolm X. The returns are mixed.)

Assuming some knowledge of the place of Bonhoeffer among *Commonweal* readers, we can indulge ourselves in the luxury of speaking chiefly of the book. The most obvious fact is that it is big and expensive. The American version is 867 pages long and costs as much as three bottles of Scotch; in my circles, where the Protestant ethic prevails, one hears unbelievable wails. (Don't shed a tear for Bethge if all who hope to buy the book eventually do; he deserves some reward.)

*Bonhoeffer* is not only long; it is also Germanic. Bethge writes with Germanic seriousness and thoroughness and often with unreflective interest in German ecclesiastical concerns, forgetting countless enthusiasts who have come to appreciate Bonhoeffer without all details of that context. The publishers mercifully removed some elements of German academic trappings; they cut over 100 pages of quotations and Bethgean text and over 50 pages of appendix. They turned loose a panel of four translators under two consultants. The English version has "committee" written all over it.

The only place where the German provenance became a bit oppressive is in the overlong discussion of church politics at the time when the rise of resistance to Hitler was shaping up. The story has been told often and better. Still, those who are playing the game of historical analogies today and foresee repressive America stifling dissent will find themselves using even the [illegible] as a textbook of resistance and as a [illegible] of arms.

Fortunately for Bethge, Bonhoeffer was not a sequestered theologian. While his ideas are seen to have consequence and are treated with respect, it is Bonhoeffer-the-Busy who has elicited such interest from a subsequent generation and who has been rewarded with such a long biography. How many other twentieth-century theologians' lives are compelling: Schweitzer; Teilhard-Pope John-M.L. King, if they are theologians; to a lesser extent maybe Reinhold Niebuhr and Paul Tillich? But the Bultmanns and the Rahners stick to their books and their desks or lecterns; the only drama in their lives comes when they deal with nagging church authorities or critics. Bethge has no such problems with Bonhoeffer, who, if I read the chronological tables rightly, never stayed more than a year or two anywhere after he came to maturity.

This is, then, a biography of a theologian, not a theological biography. Had Bonhoeffer been devoted to some (other?) brand of humanism, his biographer would have had almost as much drama on his hands. Still,

## REVIEWERS

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*James Forest*, recently paroled after a year's punishment for draft-record destruction in Wisconsin, is co-chairman of the Catholic Peace Fellowship.


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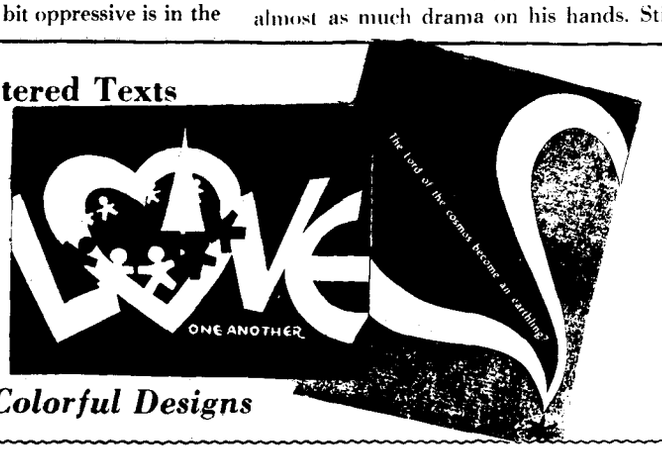


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there was this plus: Bonhoeffer had to deny many of his roots, turn his back on aspects of his heritage, wrestle with his tradition. *Lutheranism simply did not set people up for* resistance, rebellion, or revolution—and in the end he was in quiet complicity in all of these forms of expression.

Bonhoeffer imposed his own views on Scripture; he seemed impatient with historical research; after he gained his credentials as a boring writer of academic dissertations (the first two books satisfied those who check people out on such scores) he deserted arcane theology; he was an intuitive if not the most profound or seminal systematic thinker. But as he moved through Hitler's Germany he sensed what the time most needed. When the church had to *tighten* its belt, he wrote *The Cost of Discipleship*. When defeat and despair were at hand, he began to affirm the world in those tantalizing *Letters and Papers from Prison*. Bethge patiently follows each turn, explains the conversions faithfully, and seldom moves on until he is convinced that the reader will understand even where he cannot agree.

My note cards accent several features of Bonhoeffer's life that were made clearer by Bethge than by anyone else represented on my five-foot shelf of Bonhoefferiana. One of these was Dietrich's bourgeois and almost aristocratic tie: he had been sheltered, but he worked on—shall I resort to cliche?—a Christian style of life that would blend his securities and tastes with the cup of suffering that he could not deny. Another feature was the casual religious aspect of his environment: his father was agnostic; his choice of theology for vocation was bewildering; his profession of Christianity was almost surprising. He fused life in a "world come of age" with living faith long before those prison letters.

In this biography his speaking up for the Jews comes through better than in some of the American discussions of his ambivalent role and expression. He was closer to Catholics than I had known; he was influenced by some Catholic elements during a trip to Rome, and drew freely on Catholic models long before this was fashionable in Protestant parts of Germany.

Most of all, one notes his preoccupation with death, a preoccupation unaccompanied by a death wish. Our simpering and whimpering age faces horrors comparable to his, but few among us can sustain his kind of courage or hope. But now we, too, have come to speak of Bonhoeffer and not of the book. Knowing Bethge we know well: he would not care. No, shed no tear.

## *Blueprint for Counter Education*

MAURICE STEIN & LARRY MILLER

*Doubleday, $10*

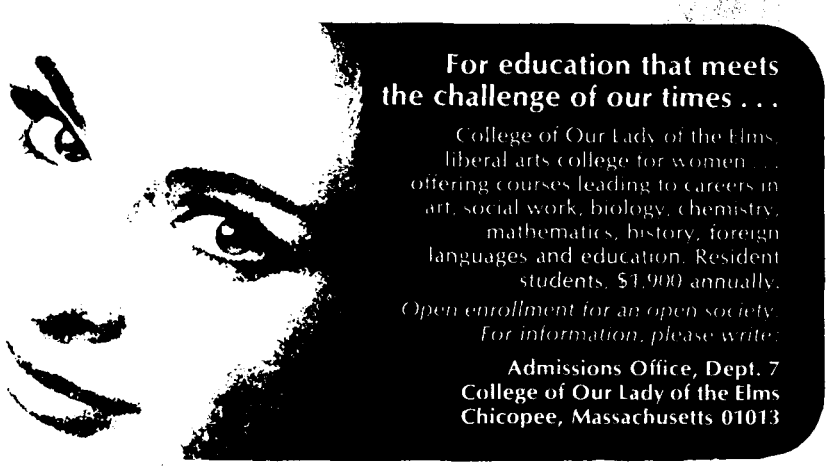
**PAMELA RITTERMAN**

I quit school about two years ago. It was hardly the protest of a committed radical against an intolerable system. I quit graduate school, and not even straightforwardly; it was called a leave of absence.

I was lucky, though. All my little self-deception not-withstanding, I had stumbled onto one of the most important decisions of my life. Being out of school, I had to take responsibility for what I learned, or didn't learn— that is, for who I was. It was scary. But it was exciting too, and joyous. I didn't return to school when my leave expired.

It is within such a context that I need to discuss *Blueprint for Counter Education*. The authors of *Blueprint* are concerned, as I am, with the uselessness and irrelevence of traditional university education. They have conceived this packet of materials (three charts and a book) as "the tools for creating a new educational environment." The materials are meant for anyone seeking to educate himself "to interact with everything going on around him." Certainly the achievement of some relationship with what's happening is one of the most important aspects of my own dropout education. It would seem, then, that the authors and I share some intuitions.

Yet as I worked with the charts and booklet (called "shooting script"), it became clear that this project is but an extension of the system it claims to replace. *Blueprint for Counter Education* is one of the most academic books, or non-books, I've ever encountered. Until now, I never really understood just why I learned so little in school. *Blueprint*, as a groovy little do-it-yourself scale model of the most repressive habits of the academy (those habits I have to *fight in myself*), has taught me a lot.

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The three charts are approximately the height and twice the width of those huge Bogart posters you used to find all over college dorms. They are splashed all over with names, hundreds of names—Marx Freud Rilke Valery Joyce Proust McLuhan Marcuse Einstein Parsons Merton Gandhi Godard Sontag Cleaver—three "people are talking about" pages for liberal arts students. The names, along with lots of phrases like "postmodernism as a meditative environment," and bits of portraits, doodles, stars and arrows, are arranged diagrammatically (though neither very legibly or decoratively) over the charts. The shooting script contains instructions on how to use the charts.

It's actually not very complex. The basic method consists of enlisting one's own experience of modernist and postmodernist phenomena in an effort to make some sense of the juxtapositions of the charts, and vice versa. The general concept behind the arrangement of the charts is the concept behind counter education. The authors assert that the parameters of present-day liberal arts education are defined by the discoveries and innovations of the great modernist thinkers, most particularly Freud, Marx, Weber, Darwin, Gandhi. Like Moliere's protagonist, we have been speaking Marx and Freud all our (adult) lives. The authors further contend that the ideas we need, for liberation of ourselves and of this planet, are found in the great modernist texts. But although the university education we receive bases itself on these thought structures, it has systematized them into irrelevance.

The authors claim, however, that certain postmodern theorists, notably Herbert Marcuse and Marshall McLuhan, have rediscovered and synthesized the great modern innovations, and have rendered them real and usable. Counter education, then, is an effort to use postmodern innovations to retrieve the great discoveries of the moderns. The student uses the charts to plot his own way through the mass of modernist and postmodernist materials, to understand the significant relationships and discontinuities, their liberating and repressive aspects, his own education and self in relation to it all.

Although the thesis of counter education could be disputed both in general and particular, the habits of mind that went into the actual creation of the materials are far more disturbing. First of all, the whole process is made to seem far more complex and formidable than in fact it is. The authors are fond of such statements as "the faculty of reflective attention to complex visual spaces is often highly attenuated." In order to help us over this hurdle in working with the charts, they advise "from the outset, to drop all conceptions about cartesian space or the space of a two-dimensional graph." I do not think it accidental that the authors toss off such mind-zaps on the first page of instructions. Most of my college professors knew this trick: it was standard procedure to toss off some intimidating erudition during introductory lectures. The point was to let us know, right from the beginning, that we were dealing with heavy stuff, and we'd better have some respect.

Stein and Miller even improve on the system. Throughout the text we find their protestations of comradery—everybody's a teacher when you play counter education. Besides, this is the Age of Aquarius, and the younger and hipper you are, the better you play the game (thus further intimidating those of us who don't immediately groove on the big definitions). Advertising techniques are an important aspect of our environment, and therefore of counter education. But it is distressing to find our teachers using them for purposes of manipulation, rather than of example.

The reason for initial intimidation in the university is that the university process is an initiation rite. After the student learns proper respect for those ahead of him in the system, he can bend his energies toward emulating these figures, and eventually become a power-wielder himself. (Teaching assistants,


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who are in the most insecure power position of all, invariably give the scariest introductory lectures.)

If the student plays according to the rules, he will eventually join the ingroup, which is distinguished both by power (the degree as job credential) and the symbols of power. I don't have to carry my diploma around with me: I learned a certain vocabulary which immediately marks me as a college graduate. The authors use this vocabulary lovingly: one can feel their prose linger over monsters like "the one-dimensionality of consciousness in advanced industrial society." When I first glanced at the charts I felt a warm rush of ingroup recognition: all those names . . . wow! and *we* are the group who know how to use them. Although the authors caution us that "at the outset . . . no one will recognize more than a small portion of the names and conceptions on the charts," I know that their former students at Brandeis University (myself included) *did* recognize most of those names and conceptions—in that sketchy, name-dropping, bookstore—browsing way of bright college kids. Knowing all those words made us feel good, as it should have: those words were symbols of the power positions we were learning to hold.

Only recently have I come to recognize that the university expresses a system of rigid and fraudulent power relationships, as do most areas of American society today. All I knew for a long while was that the university wasn't a good place to learn things, just as America isn't a good place to live.

Both America and the American university maintain a class system, which resides within the consciousness — that's simple, and powerful, Marxist truth. *Blueprint for Counter Education* is an extension of the university; it's a phenomenon of the consciousness of a privileged class. Marx called it false consciousness; I know that it's bad education.


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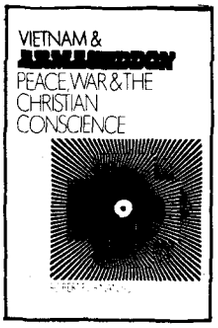


For those who know Father Drinan only from newspaper reports of his political campaigns, or who have read only his widely publicized views on law and abortion, this brief book may prove to be more than slightly surprising. Father Drinan, pillar of legally-trained rationality, has become an advocate of unilateral disarmament. And he is as rational as ever, still the surgeon of distinctions.

It is his book's thesis "that the existence of nuclear arms and the possession by the United States and by Russia of fantastically destructive biological and chemical weapons make the possibility of a 'just' war so remote that the Church could and should condemn war as morally objectionable." So central an issue is this, he argues after a searing postmortem on recent ecclesiastical documents touching upon the matter, that "a new ecumenical Council of all the bishops of the world (accompanied by lay leaders) should be convened as soon as possible and its agenda restricted to the single topic of war."

The case made is not pacifist, in that the possibility of killing for political ends is not utterly rejected. A door is left ajar in the area of tyrannicide, half pushed open in regard to revolutions undertaken by the oppressed (Latin America is cited), and all but *carte blanche* for violence is extended through a fully open door to Israel. In the last instance, Father Drinan states "there is . . . a great deal that can be said to justify the defensive, and even to some extent, an offensive war waged by Israel . . . Israel has not merely the right as a nation to defend its borders but also the right, as a culture and religious minority, to insist that any threatened destruction of Israel is nothing less than genocide."

It is Father Drinan's conviction that, if we would contribute to peace, whether in the Near East or Southeast Asia or elsewhere, then a number of major departures from current emphases are required, principally that the priority now given to the "defense" budget be not for arms and military endeavors but the ending of hunger and poverty. On a poverty-stricken planet, the only defense possible for a wealthy nation is an heroic effort to put an end to all unnecessary suffering; every "defense" dollar otherwise spent only serves to make violence and war more likely, as such waste in the midst of starvation but fuels the anger of the starving. A new foreign aid program, geared not for soup lines but economic development, is urged, to represent 5 percent of the U.S. gross national product. A domestic "Freedom Budget," expending $160 billion over the next ten years, is also endorsed. Abroad and at home, he argues, such a course would "attack Communism at its very roots."

Despite his own distaste for Marxism, Father Drinan energetically attacks the ecclesiastical magisterium for its central contribution to the anti-Communist hysteria that has gripped much of the West in recent decades. Capitalism, in turn, is attacked insofar as it "enslaves Americans in insane and trivial luxuries" while "imprisoning the peoples of the Third World in poverty, sick-



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ness and illiteracy." Much of the enthusiasm for Communism in many countries, Drinan argues, is the product of an "instinctive revulsion" many feel toward a wealthy country working havoc in a poor one.

In the final chapter, "Is Pacifism the Only Option Left," Father Drinan astonished and excited me by stating, "I would suggest that the time has come for Christians, and particularly Catholics, to stop theorizing about the possibility of a 'just war,' to take a realistic view that bilateral disarmament of the Soviet Union and the United States is highly improbable, and to *start advocating a policy of passive resistance or militant nonviolence toward any nation which would seek to conquer America, seize our assets, and control our minds.*" The logic of the position is discussed with economy but convincingly and with utmost realism. That such a position, once almost singularly the *Catholic Worker's*, should now be shared by the vice president, provost and former Law School Dean of Boston College is an eventuality I personally had not thought I should live long enough to witness; and I am not yet 29; and my health is excellent.

While not finding Father Drinan's arguments a seamless garment — his ambiguities about violence in terms of Israel and revolution seem more rooted in emotions than in logical consistency — the book in sum is extraordinarily welcome. Doubtless it will help, in part for its brevity, to move many of us toward a recognition of the injustice of violence itself, and the necessity of our girding ourselves for survival by means which *solve*, instead of aggravate, conflict and human suffering.

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## CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 3)

sonality cult in an issue of this nature. Daniel has himself stated that he was wary of this in a *N.Y. Times* interview. He would, however, be willing to temporarily and inevitably be the center of arousal for the sake of the future awakening of the nation's moral conscience in reaction to the horrendous crimes against life being committed by the world's warring governments abroad and at home.

Dean Chamberlin

### *Witnesses*

Cleveland Hts., Ohio

*To the Editors:* I have just read "A Catholic Looks at Evangelical Protestantism" by Kilian McDonnell in the Aug. 21 issue.

The dictionary defines "evangelical" as "1. Having to do with the four gospels in the New Testament. 2. of those Protestant churches which believe that the soul is saved only through faith in Jesus." Of the second definition, I did not know there was any church anywhere which taught that faith in Jesus *alone* made one deserving of salvation.

Even Billy Graham's church, which is used as an example of a good evangelical approach, emphasizes the living of the life taught in the gospels as all-important. I think Billy Graham is a poor example because his close identification with the Administration and its policies is very unscriptural and has closed off many a sincere and seeking mind, especially in the young group.

How about Jehovah's Witnesses as an example of a healthy, growing church? 80 percent of its members are said to be former Catholics.

Much of the secret of their success can be found by reading their humble publications, *Watchtower* and *Awake*. The first studies and discusses the bible, and the second is on general subjects.

Why is it, that after I read those magazines, with their rather old-fashioned graphics and cheap paper, I feel refreshed, inspired, and ready to roll up my sleeves again and tackle life (in my case, the raising of seven sons and two daughters)?

Why is it that after I read certain Catholic publications I feel tired, depressed, and a little bored with religion? After unraveling the tangled web of erudite words some writers weave around a slight thought, I only wish I had expanded the energy on some useful task around the house.

I think the answer is to be found in Matthew, Chapter 18. "Unless you change and become as little children, you shall not enter the kingdom of heaven."

The Witness magazines' anonymous writers write clearly and simply. Their object is to share the good word of the Gospel and to encourage you to go to the source of their wisdom. It inspires, instructs, and comforts. It is un-selfconscious.

I am not a Jehovah's Witness myself, but it is a great thing that Catholic people are beginning to look their fellow believers in Christ in the eye and seeing a few virtues there.

(Mrs.) Elaine Szilzgyi

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# Education and Counter Culture

IN EFFECT, our colleges and universities are covert finishing schools, giving those who participate in them not only the intellectual tools and certification but also the rhetorical and social skills and "contacts" for success in a stratified society of haves and have-nots. This stratification is tacitly assumed and thereby silently affirmed by the university, positively by teaching a life-style which tends to remove students permanently from any communication with or concern for the lispossessed and negatively by so fragmenting the search for truth and the very face of reality that it becomes difficult for the initiate ever to perceive again the actual condition of man in our time . . .

The isolate, success-driven, repressed self-identity which has shaped the socialization and intellectual processes of traditional higher education has, in fact, served man well in his drive to subdue and turn to his purposes a threatening natural world, but, we are beginning to see, this end has been accomplished at great spiritual cost. Although a certain ethnocentric self-delusion still prevents many educational leaders from seeing the oftentimes brutal intolerance of traditional higher education for deviancy from its normative sanctions, the spiritual rebellion of the counter culture has begun to provide the necessary foil for their enlightenment. The content of this spiritual rebellion—what I have called "youth's recovery of the perception that man is made for love—for a shared rather than isolate identity, for a whole rather than self-repressed psyche" is also, in fact, much more responsive to the critical needs of man today, i.e., for the creation of an equitable world community and for the development of a more fulfilling style of life.

—Myron B. Bloy, Jr., COMMONWEAL, October 3, 1969


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